FELLOWSHIP

March 1944
In Two Parts

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Part One

Massacre by Bombing

A 16-page special section by

VERA BRITTAIN

Stalin Pulls the Strings by A. J. Muste

Atrocity Stories—1944 by R. Alfred Hassler

Brotherhood and Telepathy by William W. Meyer

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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

WHAT is the story of the relation of the Christian church to war? The Church, I mean, as an organized, hierarchical institution of religion! Is the story encouraging or discouraging? Does it tell a tale of progress or of retrogession?

Speaking roughly, it seems to me that the story of the Church in relation to war can be divided into three periods:

First, there is the period running from the day when Christianity under the Emperor Constantine became a real ecclesiastical organization, down through the Middle Ages, and into the beginning of modern times. This is the period, of considerably more than a thousand years' duration, when the Church not only supported war, but itself made war on its own account and in its own interest. Of course, there were peace influences in the Church, and groups or sects which maintained the pacifist tradition of the early Christians. There was very general recognition of war as an evil; and an impressive attempt, as in the case of St. Augustine, to outlaw war except for a righteous cause. But it was this exception that nullified all attempts to get rid of war by removing the Church's sanction. Any war that for any particular reason seemed religiously useful was straightway described as righteous, and the Church took up the sword as vigorously as any king.

The supreme illustration of the direct identification of the Church with war is of course the Crusades. These were wars initiated by the Church in the interest not so much of its power as of its faith. They were dedicated to what was called a holy cause: the rescue from the hands of the Infidels of the sepulchre of the Lord. The Crusades were fought by kings and princes and their feudal lords, but these knights in armor were all of them primarily the soldiers and servants of the risen Christ.

The Crusades were succeeded in the Reformation period, by the so-called religious wars, wherein Catholics and Protestants took up arms, and in loyalty to their respective churches sought the destruction of their Christian enemies. The Thirty Years War was the perfect example of armies butchering each other, and helpless civilian populations, in the name of God. It was the utter horror and terror of this war that did more perhaps than any other single influence to snatch from the Church the sword as an instrument of ecclesiastical policy.

The second period of the Church's relation to war is that known roughly as modern times, in which the Church did not itself declare or conduct war, but gave its support to war when it was declared by somebody else. The distinctive characteristic of this modern period of history is of course nationalism. The seamless garment of feudalism, which had endured for so many centuries, was at last torn into pieces, and these various pieces were called nations. Each nation had now its own pride and glory and special interest. Each was a law unto itself, and thus independent of and on occasion hostile to other nations. Each held the single and exclusive allegiance of its own people, and all loyalty therefore was centered upon the national government, the national flag, the national leader. Wars were now nationalistic wars. It was kingdoms and empires and republics that fought one another, like quarreling gangsters in the streets. Noisy, noisome, disgraceful and degrading brawls between countries that claimed to have both dignity and honor, but as a matter of fact had neither! But when these brawls occurred, nothing else counted, and in all the belligerent nations every citizen along with every institution was enlisted in the national cause.

It was thus that the Church went to war in this modern age. In each separate country the Church was now identified no longer with the Church Universal, but rather with the particular country, large or small, in which it chanced to be located. Its allegiance was primarily not to the Cross but to the flag, not to Christ but to some earthly king, not to God but to a worldly state that was here yesterday but will be gone tomorrow. Never was there such a sacrifice of the eternal to the temporal. Nationalism was the new religion, a paganism as monstrous as that of Caesar's Rome. And its logic was the enlistment of the Church, like a conscript, to fight the battles of the nation.

Yet this, ghastly as it is, marks progress! In the old days, the Church made and fought its own wars. In modern times, no Church would make a war; religious wars have gone forever! The Church merely supports the wars made, perhaps in its despite, by the nation of its allegiance.

This leads to a third period, into which we are now slowly but surely moving. This is the period of the Church's withdrawal or aloofness from war. It has been set forth in the *Christian Century's* notable declaration in this World War II that "the Church is not at war." The nation is at war—no doubt about that! But the Church in most of its branches, and among many of its leaders, has refused to follow. It sees an allegiance now which is superior to that owed the nation, and this allegiance is to God. With God and His Kingdom war cannot be reconciled, for war divides mankind into hostile and mutually destructive elements, and in God there can be no division. All men are God's children, members of His common family, and the nations only so many mansions in His one house. So God must love all men, even in wartime, and pity them, and seek to succor them. And so must the Church, if it is faithful unto Him!

This means an entirely new attitude of the Church toward war. The Church is not now engaging in hostilities, is not fighting or killing, but rather, to use Romain Rolland's great phrase, is "above the battle." In this position the Church is no longer making war, nor supporting war when made by others. It is simply ignoring war, and, under the extraordinarily difficult conditions produced by war, going about the Father's business.

Here, in these three unfolding periods of history is progress, all the way from making war to refusing to make war. We are getting on—especially as the end is not yet!

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FELLOWSHIP

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What is the meaning of the division of the Soviet Union into sixteen "autonomous republics"? How will this latest move of the Russian dictator affect the prospects for peace? Watch while—

Stalin Pulls the Strings

By A. J. MUSTE

THE recent announcement by Premier Molotov of Russia that henceforth each of the sixteen "nationalities" in the Soviet Union would have its own Commissariat of Defense and army, and also its own Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, quite obviously caused the most extreme consternation in the British and American governments. The complete silence—up to the time of writing—of government spokesmen, and the almost complete silence of the press, leads to the surmise that the Administration has virtually ordered silence on the subject, partly perhaps because serious military problems may have arisen out of the revelation of Russia's probable future course.

This lends confirmation to the guess that the sparse and vague announcement that came out of Teheran is explained by the fact that no agreement was reached there on any important issue. On the other hand, this new development casts great doubt on the contention that the preceding Moscow Conference at least had laid the foundation for a working agreement among Russia, Britain and the United States for collaboration during the war and in the post-war period.

The first thought that popped into everyone's mind at the news that Russia would have sixteen foreign offices, each of which could make treaties of its own with other "nations," was that Stalin intended to ask for sixteen seats at the peace table. Then immediately the thought popped out again: everyone recognized that Uncle Joseph knew better than to think that power is reckoned in terms of votes or by counting noses in a committee meeting.

Unquestionably, the move does have some relation to the thorny question of the little Baltic countries, Poland, and probably some of the Balkan countries. For example, the United States has not recognized the Russian annexation of Latvia. If Mr. Hull should raise a question about that matter, he now can be referred to the Foreign Minister of the autonomous Soviet Republic of Latvia, who undoubtedly will inform him that Latvia is an independent nation. Samuel Grafton, pro-war pro-Soviet columnist of the *New York Post,* actually suggested that Russia was showing its friendliness to the United States by enabling its government to "save face" over the "independence" of countries which Russia thus was annexing!

The Molotov plan also may facilitate the spread of Russian influence by its catering to the spirit of nationalism that apparently has been intensified in many countries. The Ukrainian nationalists formerly under Polish rule, for example, and the Ukrainian nationalists in the Soviet Ukraine now can joyously combine in one nation; and how can Mr. Churchill or Mr. Roosevelt with good grace object to that?

Incidentally, no one has suggested that this "decentralist" move means any weakening of Soviet economic, political and military might; and of course it does not. Russia will remain an economic unit. The Communist Party will continue to be the only one permitted to function. Freedom of political dissent will be as non-existent as ever. So far as military matters go, Molotov frankly stated that the program meant that the privilege of conscription which the Czar had withheld from many peoples in his realm now would be more extensively applied: there would be increased military training in the schools, and larger and more formidable armies. A certain kind of decentralization may well be taking place within the pattern of rigid political control, and this will further strengthen the mighty Soviet empire. Bureaucratic control of production, that is to say, may be giving way to a system that means that fewer small decisions will be made in Moscow, there will be less red tape, and consequently more efficient and rapid industrialization of Russia.

In the field of Soviet foreign relations, it seems obvious that the pattern followed in the Baltic States is capable of indefinite extension in the West, the Middle East and the Far East. Yet nowhere have I come across even a hint that the pattern may be applied also to the German situation! A person who has an intimate knowledge of Germany and was once one of the top figures in the Communist International, described to me how this might be done. This informant holds that the Russian plan will be to divide Germany up into a dozen or more "nation-

alities." Each of these, as it becomes ready, can enter into relations with Russia or with one or more of the "autonomous" Russian republics. All of them are likely to be brought into the Soviet orbit without much delay through an instrumentality which Moscow set up some time ago and about which it has from time to time somewhat ostentatiously given out news: namely, the Free German Committee. On that Committee are German Communists, liberals, a descendant of Bismarck, and a well-known German general. I am reliably informed that an S. S. general (Hitler's Storm Troops) is now also in Moscow working with this Committee, and that in Russia one may see pictures of him standing with the head of the German Communist Party.

Moscow made it known some time ago that it was bent on the destruction of Hitler and "Hitlerites" but not of the German army, nor of the German economy. One may now surmise that Moscow may not be bent on the annihilation of the Nazi party, but only of its Hitlerite wing and, of course, of Hitlerite control over the German army. Having accomplished that split in the Nazi party and in the army command it can let the elements represented in the Free German Committee take over, keeping much of the political and economic—and Gestapo?—machinery intact.

Easy Change for Nazi Youth

It seems plausible that multitudes of Nazi youth would fit readily into such a scheme, whether the party in command was called Communist, Nazi, Communazi or something else. The transfer from a Nazi to a Communist party, from one brand of totalitarianism to another, would not be too difficult for many Germans. As a matter of fact, many Communists joined the Nazis when Hitler's movement began to succeed. Now they could round out the circle!

The possibility of such an extension of Russian influence and power obviously has the most important implications for the United States and Great Britain. It would mean a threat of the gravest kind of political defeat in the European arena, against which prompt and drastic measures must be taken. (I have heard it said that Mr. Churchill did not have pneumonia at all after Teheran—that if he was ill, it was a political malady, and that what he and the British cabinet needed was an interval in which to make the military and political dispositions required by what had transpired at Teheran.) The evident softening of the British and American regimes toward De Gaulle fits into the picture. If a bulwark against Sovietism is to remain on the continent, France must be made a respectable Power after the war and De Gaulle must be won away from Russian influence.

Premier Smuts' speech about the need of forming a bloc of northwestern European nations attached to Britain to maintain the balance against Russia on the one hand and the United States on the other, also is lighted up by the recent Russian developments.

Furthermore, if Europe is in a sense lost to the Anglo-American powers, they must be on guard in order to make sure that a similar calamity does not take place elsewhere. Latin America and the Far East are the regions to which they must look for raw materials and commercial outlets. These Russia cannot take away in the immediate future. Perhaps the stiffening attitude toward Argentina finds here an explanation. If the people of the United States are going to awaken presently to a realization that the war in Europe has served merely to strengthen totalitarianism of the Russian variety, they must be assured—unless indeed they are to renounce the twin follies of power politics and war altogether—that American prestige and prosperity will be secured elsewhere. Moreover in such circumstances they must have an emotional stimulus to take their attention away from the unpleasant realities on the other side of the Atlantic. Stepping up the war in the Pacific theatre and the publication of Japanese atrocities appear to meet this need. It should be added, however, that a severe blow to Anglo-American prestige in Europe and the Near East would be bound to complicate matters in the Orient, and would raise doubts of the Allies' ability to hold together the British Empire there and clear the way for American economic expansion. In all probability a mighty impetus would be given to every movement for the overthrow of white imperialism and the establishment of native autonomy in both the economic and the political spheres.

Meantime, what has become of the Second Front? Of course the British-American invasion of the continent may be under way before these pages reach the reader. It has been held up so long, however, that one begins to hear speculation that it may not come off at all. In the middle of February commentators are frankly pessimistic about military developments in Italy. Certainly the venture there hardly seems to portend the imminent launching of a much bigger and more costly campaign.

In any case the outlook in Europe is problematical for everyone except Russia. If no invasion takes place, that will constitute an admission of political defeat for Britain and the United States. If an invasion is launched, it probably will be terribly costly. It will drain Anglo-Saxon resources, ease the pressure on the Russian forces, and enable them to march all the more rapidly toward Germany. Alternatively, elements in Germany that have a Russian orientation might offer peace to Russia and receive it. Under the "most favorable" conditions, Russians, Americans and British would all fight on to crush Germany. In that case it seems clear that then the scales still would be tipped toward Russia's dominance in much if not all of Europe, unless British-American forces are to contest that dominance by remaining in Europe much longer than American opinion, at least, is likely to allow. In such a juncture, furthermore, the masses of Europe would be more likely to regard the Russians as liberators, than they would the British and Americans. Among other things, it is the latter and not the Russians who are bombing German women and children! Already the pro-war, pro-Administration *New Republic* can write: "Among Frenchmen today it is a fatal handicap to be known as a friend of British and Americans!" Under these circumstances it is practically certain that all the Powers are engaged in some sort of negotiations—or "feelers" if negotiation is too precise a word—relating to armistice and peace. The sudden virulence of the press attack on the weak Peace Now Movement and all other "wage peace now" activities, may well be due in part to this fact. The possibility that elements within Germany might make peace proposals inspired by an anti-Russian animus probably worries the Administration since it cannot be sure, in the present mood of the people and

in view of the Russian moves, that it could control the popular reaction to such news. Consequently, it would seem wise to build a mind-set against any policy other than "unconditional surrender."

Moscow as Peacemaker?

The ink hardly was dry on these words when the *Army and Navy Journal,* which has "called the turn" on a number of important events recently, printed the amazing news that Moscow might warn the Japanese government that it would be expedient to seek peace with the United States and Great Britain. Theodore Roosevelt, it reminds its readers, once mediated Japan's war with Russia. "Russia now is in the position of the United States" and perhaps about to do Japan a similar favor. Whether this means that Moscow is working for peace in the Orient independently of the Roosevelt administration and against its wishes or whether as an alternative to facing the problem we have outlined Britain and the United States actually are not averse to having Russia put out "peace feelers," it does not take much reading between the lines to see that such discussions involving all warring nations more or less directly, and various elements in some or all of them, are under way. Under the circumstances, American citizens ought not to be blamed if they exercise their freedom of utterance in order to discuss peace.

As readers of *Fellowship* may recall, I have been disposed to think that the most likely outcome of the war would be a fairly clear-cut military and political victory for the United Nations, from which the United States would emerge as the strongest of all the Powers; and that there would be a breathing-spell during which the American economy would expand in the Pacific, providing a measure of "prosperity" and also of political liberalism. I think we have to admit that doubt is cast on the accuracy of this expectation by the developments sketched in this article. They seem to portend that the war in various phases may drag on, or the outcome be extremely confused and the post-war period a troubled one, or both.

We must face the fact that this may mean a more difficult time for pacifists and for all minority movements. The masses will be troubled and angry, wondering even more than now why the war should go on. They will need an outlet for pent-up emotions and may try to find it in attacks on such groups. The Administration will be less confident of the future, including its own continuance in office, more jittery, and therefore more inclined to resort to repression—or at least not to keep a tight rein on popular emotionalism. The post-war period, too, may be disturbed and difficult if the people of this country come to feel that the United States is in an exposed position, the one "bulwark of Christian civilization" left between the "Communist hordes" on the one hand and "Asiatic hordes" on the other.

Such phrases suggest that pacifists, as they analyze developments, must take care to avoid adopting "Red-baiting" tactics. It may well be that before many years or even months we may have to work even more vigorously for tolerance toward Russians, and for an appreciation of what is sound in Russia, than we have had to contend for an objective and Christian attitude toward Germans and Japanese.

Nevertheless, the spread of totalitarianism of the Russian as well as other varieties is a fearsome thing. The way in which the tremendously important change in Russian policy which we have been discussing was effected is itself an illustration of that point. Public discussion of the move there was none. There seems to have been precious little advance discussion behind the scenes, either. The proposal was adopted at a session of the Supreme Council (Congress or Parliament) not of four weeks or four days but four hours; forty-three minutes of which was taken up with Premier Molotov's speech. The *New York Times* dispatch that passed the Soviet censor told how the delegates had the decree they were to adopt before them in print but ostentatiously refused to read it before unanimously adopting it! The Hitler Reichstag in the Fuehrer's palmiest days never executed a rubber-stamping operation with more éclat and abandon!

Democracy and Efficiency

When one is irked by the time it takes for the United States Congress or a Quaker meeting to get something done, one may be tempted to think that such efficiency has its good points, but one who has any conception of democratic values left will soon recognize that this is a superficial and dangerous way of thinking. An acquaintance who played a very important part in the founding of the Communist International said to me: "You democrats will be a long time yet in realizing how utterly the totalitarians, Communists included, despise nearly all the democratic values you cherish. All your discussion, all your consideration for the individual life, for the individual personality, is to them mere verbiage—words, words, words! Action, collective and ruthless, is the sole good for them. Here is a new ruling class, with all the vigor, the drive, the supreme contempt for opposition of a new class. Here is a type of human being you can hardly understand."

I reflected that those who have been telling us that a great contest between two utterly opposed conceptions of life is under way may have been speaking much more truthfully than they realized; but the war, each day reveals, will not advance that concept of life for which they thought they were contending.

Space permits only a single concluding word. The only way in which the democracies can regain the spiritual and political initiative is by a bold venture in peace and democracy. There are millions in Europe who do not want to be dominated by Stalin and who know that that domination means World War III. But they want even less to be dominated by Great Britain and the United States: they know that this also spells World War III and that in the meantime neither British balance of power politics nor American "free enterprise" can administer first aid to Europe. A genuinely democratic peace is what they really want. How can we make them believe that is what we mean? A stroke of statesmanship that would rock Hitler's regime and that of the Japanese militarists, and would make Molotov's proposal look like a poor piece of opportunism would be to free India and to take a big step toward abolishing Jim Crow in the United States. Hundreds of millions in all parts of the earth would recognize that as evidence that democracy was a living reality. Nothing could keep them from following that blazing beacon if it were raised in this dark night.

Atrocity Stories—1944

By R. ALFRED HASSLER

THE atrocity story, a standard technique of World War I, came into full-scale use by the United States for the first time in this war with the release in late January of accounts of cruel treatment accorded American and Filipino soldiers by their Japanese captors after the fall of the Philippines. The stories, relating instances of the most inhuman brutalities, aroused the expected storm of indignation throughout the country, with many members of Congress outdoing the average citizen in the intemperateness of their comment. (One legislator is reported to have expressed himself—from the safety of Capitol Hill—as anxious to go out and "kill Japs with my bare hands.") Because of the inevitable effect the stories will have, not only upon the conduct of the war itself, but upon the peace that follows the war, it is important that they receive careful, sober analysis.

1. "Maybe They're Not True"

Inevitably, when the Bataan stories were released, many an American must have felt the query start to his lips, "Are they true?"

Nor was such skepticism peculiar to pacifists. It was noted, for instance, in Harrodsburg, Kentucky, home of sixty-six men captured in Bataan. "They just don't believe it," reported the editor of the *Harrodsburg Herald*. "They think the stories are just a lot of propaganda to help sell war bonds."[1] And in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Dr. V. H. Spensley, president of the Bataan Relief Association and father of a soldier who died in a Japanese prison camp, expressed doubt of the "entire truth" of the stories. "If the morality of America has sunk so low it requires this kind of propaganda to sell war bonds," said Dr. Spensley, "we wonder what the boys are fighting for."[2]

There are two obvious reasons for such an attitude. One was the none-too-subtle timing of the release to coincide with the Fourth War Loan Drive. Skeptical Americans, who have come to look for a "hidden motive" in practically everything the government says or does, wagged their heads wisely and were prone to discount some of the stories.

The second reason for doubt was the recollection, still fresh in the minds of many, of the infamous and wholesale hoodwinking that was perpetrated in the last war, when equally well-authenticated stories about German soldiers who cut off the hands of Belgian children and mutilated Belgian women, proved to be outright manufactured lies.[3] The government is experiencing the workings of the same law that eventually brings to grief all demagogues and charlatans, whether they are governments or advertising agencies: that fooling people with variations of the same trick becomes harder in geometric ratio each time it is done.

It is interesting to note here that the official government explanation for the long delay in releasing the Bataan stories was the fear that publication might lessen the chances of getting help to remaining prisoners, but that now "the government can no longer expect to get further relief to American prisoners of war in the hands of the Japanese."[4] Yet only a few days before the release of the stories, the Japanese government had given permission to the War Prisoners' Aid Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to extend its work into the Philippine camps![5]

Nevertheless, a large proportion of the American people appear to have accepted the accounts as reasonably accurate, and in the absence of evidence to the contrary it must be assumed that they are probably right. It is not unlikely that the actual atrocities have been greatly magnified and exaggerated, and we should be ingenuous indeed to accept uncritically everything that a wartime government asserts, but it would be equally foolish to attempt to deny that Japanese troops have committed acts of unspeakable brutality and sadism.

The question that then arises is whether we are to assume from this that all Japanese are bestial, sub-human, and depraved, and deserving only of extermination. The answer to that question may well decide whether we are to have peace or war in the Pacific in future generations.

II. War Is the Atrocity

The fact is that when a nation embarks upon modern total war it must perforce relinquish "for the duration" its conventional standards of morality. War itself is the most atrocious denial of human dignity that there can be, and the individual horrors that make it up necessarily pale beside the sum of all its horrors. It is the failure to realize this that is turning into neurotics people who try to justify in their own sons the brutalities that they instinctively abhor in their enemies. It is the same failure that has left in an untenable position many Christian leaders who asserted earlier in the war that *our* armies must forego the brutalities practiced by our enemies, and who now, when such brutalities have been adopted and improved upon, give weak assent or stand helplessly silent.

Unquestionably we must be filled with horror at the thought of the inhuman cruelty visited on these helpless prisoners in the Philippines, but how can we be any less horrified at the inhuman cruelty of our own war machine toward helpless non-combatants in Europe? The obliteration bombing of German cities, described in a brief article last month[6] and much more fully elsewhere in this issue, is a horror beyond the power of words to describe.

The naval blockade of Europe, pitilessly maintained as Anglo-American policy, means that children and adults are starving to death, not by the thousands, but by the millions! Hallett Abend, noted news correspondent, estimates that one in every ten of the six hundred million people in Europe's occupied, enemy, or satellite nations is

[1] *New York Herald Tribune*, Jan. 29, 1944.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "In a series of depositions describing (in the Bryce Report—1915) the actions of the Germans at Alost in September, 1914, the witnesses talked of people burned alive, boys with their hands cut off, a man shot down because his door was closed, a woman of eighty pierced by a bayonet, people with throats cut or heads smashed with rifle butts, a girl of seventeen bayoneted in the back. In the Belgian report of 1922 not one of fourteen depositions on Alost . . . mentions any of these atrocious crimes . . ." From *Atrocity Propaganda*, 1914-1919, by James Morgan Read. Yale University Press, 1941.

[4] White House press secretary Stephen T. Early, quoted in the *Herald-Tribune*, January 29, 1944.

[5] *Christian Century*, February 16, 1944.

[6] *Slaughter of the Innocent*, by R. Alfred Hassler. Reprints 2¢ each; $1.00 per 100.

now doomed to death from starvation or the diseases that come from hunger. An objective observer from another planet might find it difficult to distinguish between the degrees of inhuman brutality displayed by both sides!

We know that most Americans, confronted with the actual details of what is being done to innocent women and babies in their name, would recoil in aversion. We know, too, that many of the men who are called upon actually to perpetrate these things must even now be sick at heart, and that they will suffer from remorse for the rest of their lives. Neither they nor we are beasts, even though we have been led into actions that are bestial.

Obviously, the same thing must be true of the masses of the Japanese people, who are described in the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (written before the war) as "essentially a kindly-hearted, laughter-loving people."

Indeed, Joseph C. Grew, former Ambassador to Japan and staunch supporter of the war, said that the Japanese military leaders would not allow the public to hear of the atrocities because "the Japanese people as a whole would, if they knew the facts, be utterly ashamed."[7]

And a letter to the *New York Times* (which was given very little prominence) pointed out that Red Cross delegates are allowed to visit most Japanese prison camps, and that they "found no atrocities, but reasonably good conditions, including hot baths weekly and medical attention."[8]

So these stories of what happened to the prisoners on the Philippines may be true in every detail, yet have the same effect as though they were monstrous lies, because they are not the whole truth. The government did not make clear their limitations in both time and location, nor did it bother to distinguish between the relatively few perpetrators of the crimes and the rest of the Japanese people. Instead, as the Chicago FOR Executive Committee pointed out, the stories "are intended to arouse hatred and the spirit of vengeance against the whole Japanese people."

Another point needs to be raised if we are to be honest in our analysis, and that is the fury with which both sides are fighting in the Pacific theatre. It seems to be a singularly bitter war, fought on a plane of hatred far more intense than is reported from the European sector.[9] Very few prisoners are taken; very few wounded reported. From Pearl Harbor to January 7, 1944—more than two years — United States forces had taken only 377 Japanese prisoners![10] "Neither side is taking prisoners," declared an officer in the U. S. Navy, quoted in the *New York Times.*

In the reason for this personal fury we come to grips with the real explanation of such things as the Bataan atrocities.

III. "Whatsoever Ye Sow . . ."

Tension had been growing between the United States and Japan for many years before Pearl Harbor. Jingoists on both sides fed the flames of suspicion and hatred constantly, but there was one significant difference between the American and Japanese attitudes.

In the United States the feeling generally toward Japan was of somewhat amused alarm. The little upstarts out there in the Pacific were getting "uppety"; some day probably we should have to send out the fleet and "slap them down." It would be a bother, of course, but the fleet and perhaps a few regiments of Marines could handle the job. It would be laughable to think that the serio-comic little island empire could put up any effective resistance against the immense might of America. Not only was there great disparity between the two in population, wealth, industrial might, and military and naval potential, but there was also a rather general feeling that any medium-sized American boy could handle any ten Japanese, jiu-jitso and all, with ease.

In Japan the threatening war had none of this comic aspect. America and Britain were the colossi of the Western world; they were the symbol of the hated Occidental assumption of superiority. At the hands of British and Americans the Orientals, and particularly the Japanese, had suffered indignity upon indignity, humiliation upon humiliation. The hurt was no easier to bear from the knowledge that in many instances it was inflicted unknowingly, so impenetrable was the assumption of inherent superiority in the Westerner.

Britain and America had been the dominating powers in the Versailles conference that had refused to write a declaration of racial equality into the peace treaty that ended World War I. America and Britain (through Australia) had thrown their opinion of the despised "yellow men" into the very teeth of the Orient with their Asiatic Exclusion Laws. The United States Congress had raised bitterness to fever heat by its brusque abandonment of our "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan, an agreement to which Japan had adhered scrupulously although under it fewer than 11,000 Japanese entered the U. S. in 16 years. We were adamant in refusing any modification of the 5-5-3 naval ratio and on top of this insisted on holding provocative naval maneuvers in the Far Eastern Pacific, while all the time British warships at Singapore and Hong Kong, and American warships at Hawaii and the Philippines were a constant warning of a "crackdown" should Japan step out of line. In the face of such persistent policies, isolated gestures of good will like the help extended at the time of the Tokyo earthquake or the honor accorded to Ambassador Saito in providing an American warship to take his body back to Japan, could make little headway. It is easy to believe that for millions of Japanese December 7, 1941, was the launching of a holy crusade.

Hence it is not difficult to understand why the Japanese should go into battle with a consuming hatred of their foes so great that it breaks out now and again into sadistic persecution and torture. The Japanese masses are no wiser than we. They have been no better able to distinguish between the masses of friendly, peace-loving Americans and the minority of power-hungry, ruthless American imperialists, than we have been able to distinguish between the peace-loving masses of Japan and their ruthless imperialists. So the relatively innocent of two nations are at one another's throats, and the prospects of understanding and peace grow steadily less with each battle.

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7 *New York Times,* February 2, 1944.
8 *New York Times,* February 4, 1944.
9 See *Report from the Front,* by Edgar Jones, *Fellowship,* February, 1944.
10 *New York Herald-Tribune,* January 29, 1944.

Project for Good Neighbors

THE FIRST OF A SERIES ON LATIN AMERICA, CHALLENGE TO PEACE EDUCATION

By JOSEPH M. GOODMAN and DEVERE ALLEN*

PEACE education, after the war, will be continued and intensified. But will Latin America be neglected, as for the last century and a quarter?

In the United States, Great Britain, and Europe organized education for peace began immediately after the Napoleonic Wars. In the ancient world, and in medieval times, prophets of peace—often with substantial movements centered in their teachings—had arisen in China, India, the Near East, and Northern Africa, and in almost every corner of the European Continent. Colonial Spanish and Portuguese America did not lack for kindly missionaries, like Las Casas, and in Spain Father Vittoria pioneered in international law and justice. But of any attempt to carry on a specific education in peace ideas in any part of the Western Hemisphere south of the Rio Grande, either across frontiers or among social groups and individuals, there is only scant or sporadic record.

To be sure, Simón Bolívar and more than a score of others promulgated plans for international cooperation, and in this respect were more advanced than most statesmen of North America or Europe. But almost uniformly these idealistic planners were bound to military concepts, and showed slight hope that warlike methods could be dispensed with, even in their programs for internal or continental order. It does not detract from the enormous social contribution of these Latin American thinkers to insist that even down to the present day there never has existed in the Latin American nations any popular inculcation of peace behavior comparable to that of the rest of the world.

The fault has lain largely with outsiders. The United States reacted late and grudgingly to Bolívar and the rest, and foreign exploitation of Latin American resources itself has tended to produce an unfavorable social climate for the development of peace ideas. And, while peace education of course must have its growth based primarily on local leadership and inspiration, here, too, outsiders must play an important part. In the very nature of things, education for a warless society must proceed by exchange and sharing.

Elihu Burritt, the Connecticut Yankee, took his peace ideas straight to the British masses; John Bright, the Englishman, invaded Europe with delegations to peace congresses nearly a hundred years ago; Joseph Sturge and others similarly went from Britain to Russia, while French spokesmen crossed to the United Kingdom. Far from causing resentment at outside interference, these continuous friendly excursions brought about increased fellowship among thousands of thoughtful people. But through no fault of the Latin Americans, the intercourse between their region and the rest of the globe has been conducted largely for reasons of imperialism, commerce, revolutionary struggle, international combat, or conventional missionary enterprise. It is a tragedy that the accelerated migrations back and forth during the last few years have had their motivation chiefly in purposes of military strategy.

It would be unjust to numerous groups that have attempted peace education and solidarity on an inter-American level to say that nothing has been done; but it would be equally unjust to the truth to suggest that what has been done has seemed adequate even to these groups themselves. Surely the time must come soon when the peace hunger of Americans North and Americans South must be more vitally satisfied by closer comradeship in the search for the essentials of a less violent society, international and domestic. Whatever is done will have to be cooperative, and on the part of North Americans humble. Yet it will be important to send from the United States into the Latin American republics just as capable workers for peace as now are sent for medical and scientific training, military collaboration, and economic development.

The crucial question is this: will these emissaries of peaceful techniques and world cooperation come to their task with sufficient appreciation of the unique problems to be faced in Latin America? Will they have the proper comprehension of the special historic and social compulsions that must be diverted into peaceful channels? The peace forces that have shown any interest at all in Latin America have revealed little awareness of the complicated tasks they have to accomplish in this area. Unless they prepare as skilled technicians they may easily do more harm than good.

Peace Below the Rio Grande

Inhabitants of Latin America, looking at the rest of the world in its present state, may be excused for a certain cynical wonder at anyone's imagining *they* need education in the ways of peace. At worst, there is no such hatred between any two Latin American nations as characterizes much of Europe and the Orient. Moreover, there is a growing tendency to peaceable adjustment of deep-going controversies, and a remarkable respect for idealism.

Yet when all this is said, it must be pointed out also that there is no real solidarity as yet, despite the lumping of all Latin Americans in one category. The whole area has been subject to some of the bitterest and most devastating wars and revolutions, often fomented from outside, often growing out of economic and ideological rivalry. And it would be an ignorant person indeed who, looking at the potentialities for dangerous outbursts that still exist, dared to say that the basic peace problems of the world are nonexistent in this particular portion of it.

In fact, almost the whole of Latin America, with happy exceptions, is cursed by a popular faith in violence and contempt of life that is the despair of some of its finest thinkers. Throughout Latin American history, as at the present time, violence has flared up at the flimsiest provocations. One does not have to stand outside and speak

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such a truth as a critic, however friendly. It is being said by the most socially minded Latin Americans themselves.

Mexico, precisely because it has been making such fine social progress and because its indigenous population is so gifted with kindly and courteous impulses, provides an illuminating example. And as its President, Manuel Avila Camacho, a man singularly gifted at getting along with conflicting elements, has wisely said, "Geography has made of us a natural bridge of conciliation between the Latin and Saxon cultures of the continent." What follows is the result of extended stays in Mexico, talks with Mexicans and other Latin Americans of all classes, wide reading of periodicals and books from all over the continent, and constant communication, over several years, with Latin American correspondents in the twenty republics.

Violence Widespread in Mexico

The inescapable fact is that Mexico is appallingly given to violence. Tourists and other foreigners are in no danger, and will find the inhabitants delightfully gracious and courteous. But they will find two kinds of Mexicans: those who see nothing to condemn or fear in a common resort to private violence, and those who are deeply distressed at the tendency, both in the rural and the urban population, to break out in feuds, personal vendettas, and homicides.

During the last year and a half, the present writers have been close to more than three dozen murders; to several highway robberies by armed bands; to assaults on buses; and to large-scale shootings that sent to the hospital or the grave victims in fours and fives. The first writer of this article was shot through the hip when stepping around a corner between two men whose chief absorption was their desire to kill each other—much to the humiliation, be it noted, of the villagers where the accident occurred. Outbursts of group combat or mass attacks—*zaffaranchos*—are not uncommon. Banditry that leaves bodies suspended from trees on main highways is often followed by army mop-ups and the extermination of the offenders. Shooting while dangerous offenders are trying to "escape" is often taken as a matter of course. President Avila Camacho recently felt compelled to use his extraordinary wartime powers to impose the death penalty upon those caught in highway robberies and assaults.

Of 31 causes of death in Mexico listed by governmental statisticians, homicide stands ninth. There are more homicides than fatal accidents. More people are murdered than die of dysentery, typhoid, cancer, or smallpox. The marvellous progress made by Mexican medical men has not been as capable of checking violence as disease. Professor Carlos Franco Sodi, an expert on penal matters, asserts that in Mexico City the number of murders has risen from 589 in 1933 to 1,136 during the first nine months (latest period available) of 1941. Population has increased rapidly, but at no such speed as the murders. At the same time there has been a decline in frauds, robberies, and other less serious crimes. But the number of injuries from physical violence went up from 6,616 in all of 1933 to 11,286 for the first three-quarters of 1941, and it cannot be doubted that many of these were from attempted homicides that fell short of the intention.

Says a distinguished legal physician, Dr. José Torres Torija, President of the Mexican Society of Legal Medicine and Criminology, "Criminality in the middle class has appreciably increased in recent years and among its manifestations occurring with alarming frequency are wife-killing, general homicide, and similar crimes. There is an absolute lack of respect for human life. Without doubt it is due to a false conception of what constitutes valor, to the constant use of arms as almost a complement of the individual, and, beyond question, to the breakdown of moral values that provokes the universal destruction we are now witnessing."

Pistol-toting and knife-carrying are general, and the machete of everyday use is, unfortunately, a handy weapon when lethal ambitions come suddenly to mind. Men frequently are hunted down like animals. A cartoon in *Ultimas Noticias* satirizes the ease with which assassins sometimes escape justice by showing a man with smoking gun, who has just committed a murder while garbed in hunting costume, and by printing the caption: " 'The law will vigorously castigate this rascal.' 'For killing his fellow man?' 'No, for hunting without a license.' " The brilliant cartoonist, Cabral, shows in *Novedades,* largest Mexican daily, *campesinos* striding across their fields equipped with rifles, revolvers, and cartridge belts, and describes them as "agriculturalists going to work with their farm tools."

A federal law prohibits the carrying of firearms, but *El Universal* frankly asserts that its success depends upon greater evenness of justice, free from "influence." *El Informador* of Guadalajara speaks of "our incurable *pistolerismo.*" Federal and state officials are exempt from the anti-firearms regulations, a fact which from time to time has led commentators to demand that members of Congress be also "depistolerized."

Extends to Other Countries

Is this readiness to kill, this widespread acceptance of murder and preparedness for it, confined to Mexico? A Chilean visitor who ran into a sanguinary half-day's pistol battle by rival trade unionists wrote, in *Ereilla* of Santiago, that no one should accuse Mexico of being absent from the war fronts, because it had one of its own, right at home. But other Latin American countries, though of course in varying degree, are not free from such outbursts. One of Colombia's truest friends, Kathleen Romoli, has written that in this liberal and democratic land "homicide is so frequent, so almost casual in some regions, that the exact figures if they were obtainable would be staggering. People kill because they are jealous, or offended, or just for the hell of it . . . . Often the results are unpleasant only for the victim." In many parts of Latin America as a whole, the selfsame comment could be made without exaggeration.

Nor are people in general, even among the educated classes, ashamed of violent outbursts. Two young Mexican men were explaining to some North American acquaintances why one of the pair had his right hand in a bandage. "His *novia* (best girl)," said the other young man, "refused to tell him that she loved him. He put his fist right through a glass door." Warm admiration was in his tone. Then the wounded one spoke, with satisfaction. "Afterward she said she loved me. We Latin Americans are very proud of our tempers."

Duelling is not yet a thing to joke about below the Rio Grande, though to the North American it usually smacks of comic opera. When two South Americans of political

fame shot at each other and missed, they went away unreconciled but with dignity restored. It was less significant that two otherwise progressive political leaders and intellectuals in Havana fought a saber duel last January, ending up with a minor wound and a handshake, than that a large crowd of distinguished citizens witnessed the affair at dawn, among them certain outstanding leaders in work for inter-American good will, and a few of them internationally known.

Sometimes one hears the argument that Latin American violence is due to the fact that the region resembles the rough-and-tumble frontier civilization of our own West seventy-five years ago. But one does not have to dwell long among the people to realize that even the resemblance is illusory and that the explanation does not at all explain. There is a dignity and grace and a sort of innate gentility among even the least educated Latin Americans that puts to shame not only our earlier culture but that of the present.

It is sometimes contended that severities of climate are responsible for a nerve-strain that finds release in violent acts, and a great deal is made of this theme in numerous Latin American novels. The country dweller in particular suffers rigorous conditions of primitive life, with extremes of heat and cold, and with insufficient protection from either, and some emotional and physical consequences should be expected. But the trouble with this theory is that it breaks down when you carefully analyze the actual statistics and discover that there is no appreciable diminution of violence, and often just the opposite, in the lush, pleasant areas where life is conspicuously less hard.

Education in a formal sense is often put forward as the cure; yet this view, too, is suspect in the face of facts. The state of Veracruz in Mexico is notably literate and culturally well developed, and relatively blessed with schools and progressive communities, but it is here that violence finds its most unrestrained and all too frequent outlets.

There are those, too, who seek to explain too much by alcohol, for figures do not indicate any major connection, bad of course as heavy drinking can often be. In Colombia, where drinking is notoriously great, and where the altitude tends to increase its potency, only one-fourth of all crimes are committed while under the influence of liquor. Furthermore, in Mexico homicides have been mounting while the use of such strong drinks as pulque, mezeal, and tequila has declined, partly from the government's temperance crusade, partly from the introduction of light beers and soft drinks.

No, for any real understanding of the violence to which so many Latin Americans are addicted, one has to look for deeper trends and social factors. What these precisely are we do not pretend to know. But it is possible to suggest causations so as to help a more detailed inquiry if some day one is made. And these are factors in Latin American civilization of which all future work for internal and international peace must take account.

This is the first of three articles on Latin America by Joseph M. Goodman and Devere Allen. The second will appear in a forthcoming issue.

Brotherhood and Telepathy

NEW POSSIBILITIES FOR BRINGING MEN INTO ONE FAMILY

By WILLIAM W. MEYER*

MEN are knit together inseparably. Brotherhood is not merely a pious wish but a physical and spiritual reality. This truth is repeated frequently by pacifists, but often in such a vague and abstract form that it is scarcely convincing.

The phenomenon of telepathy, now amply demonstrated through scientific experiments as well as by countless authenticated cases, offers a field for research by pacifists who are interested in positive evidence of human interdependence. Telepathy offers a clue to understanding intercessory prayer. And it opens the door to the limitless possibilities of group meditation.

Whatever the explanation, it is a fact that communication between persons can and does occur apart from any contact through the five senses. The famous Duke University card-naming experiments are a dramatic evidence of that. There are frequent cases of communication across continents or oceans, in which there is received a strong impression—sometimes a vision, sometimes a voice, often just a "hunch" that a friend or relative may be in trouble, or at the point of death, or simply going about some normal activity. Cases of communication at death or some other crisis of the personality are substantiated most easily, and are more vivid and intense, but it is probable that telepathy occurs much more frequently and normally when we suddenly say, "I wonder how so-and-so is; I wish he would write that letter he has owed me for six months!"

Many pacifists, brought up as we all have been in an atmosphere of Newtonian physics and Euclidean geometry and mechanistic philosophy, will call this mere coincidence or pure invention. The point cannot be conceded. There is ample evidence for those who will look at it. Pages could be filled with instances fraught with concrete significance for the reality of brotherhood.

Two obstacles confront the average person in understanding and accepting the phenomenon of telepathy. First, it

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represents to some extent a special faculty or gift, like a musical ear. Some people could practice for decades, yet never be able to sing harmoniously. Some people do not like symphony because they have never *really* heard it. Such people are the poorer, but they do not detract from the music nor disprove its existence. Neither would we decide between the greatness of Beethoven and Tommy Dorsey by popular vote. So telepathy exists for you even though you may never have consciously "received" a dramatic message.

More serious is the fact that telepathy does not and cannot fit into any mechanistic world-view. Along with the new advances in physics, mathematics, and psychology, it is making a scientific end to what we used to call Science. It cannot be explained rationally, nor by any of the familiar diagrams and formulas to which we have been accustomed.

Alexis Carrel, in his great work *Man the Unknown,* tries to give a picture of telepathy as the extension of personality through space. He argues that every individual forms links with everything he touches, and with every person he meets, and that "in telepathic phenomena, he instantaneously sends out a part of himself, a sort of emanation, which joins a far-away relative or friend . . . . We may suppose that a telepathic communication is an encounter, beyond the four dimensions of our universe, between the immaterial parts of two minds."

Subsurface Consciousness

Perhaps a better picture can be drawn in terms of the depth of human consciousness. The personality, like an iceberg, is nine-tenths below the surface. The conscious mind, the outer personality, is greatly outweighed by the subconscious, or unconscious, which records all experiences, controls habits and automatic actions, and influences, if not actually controls, the emotional life of the individual. Much of this area below the level of self-consciousness is not individual, but belongs to the race, the so-called collective unconscious. The sex instinct, for example, binds the individual to the race, lifts him out of himself, and controls individual actions in the interest of race preservation. Regardless of our outward appearance of individual separateness, and of our self-conscious feeling of isolation, basically we are united to the spiritual and psychic life of the race. We are in actual spiritual communication with other humans, as seen in telepathy.

Icebergs, though separate above the surface, often are one under water. So waves on the ocean look separate from above, but underneath the ocean is one. The same water makes the waves, however diverse the patterns the winds may make. So humans are united in the race life, the collective unconscious, and ultimately in God.

When we pray, we seek to get beyond our self-consciousness, to unite ourselves consciously with God and our fellow men. This we can do not simply intellectually, through "sharing the purposes" of God and our brothers, but actually, psychically, spiritually, by finding this level of communication and union with others rooted in God. Intercessory prayer, then, is not merely *wishing* good things about other people, or addressing formal petitions to God on their behalf, but rather getting actually to the realm where we and they are in touch, united in God. Every thought about another person, every experience with that person, is registered indelibly in the subconscious and becomes spiritual reality, living prayer. Many of our intercessory prayers are negative instead of creative, but they all count, and destructive thoughts can be erased from the subconscious only with much work of humble love.

Now we can realize with renewed intensity the importance of every thought, word, and deed. On the basis of telepathy, our prayers for peace and brotherhood assume new proportions. We are in a new world of prayer.

The implications of telepathy for pacifist group discipline and worship are just as important. I have visited many FOR meetings that were perfunctory and superficial, with the atmosphere of a service club or a sewing circle. This is intolerable. Our groups must struggle and persevere in their meditation together, patiently and consistently, until they find this deep level of unity. Without this deep feeling of communion, most of our words are wasted. With it, there will be fewer words but more action and more power.

Such intimate and complete group unity (even though members may and should disagree about some ideas and plans) is based, at least in part, on telepathic communication, the level of life where spirits actually are intertwined. I have had this consciousness of group solidarity so definitely in many FOR meetings, and felt it just as definitely absent in so many others, as to leave me in no doubt. In the silence, or out of the depths from which sincere words come, there can be felt this spiritual communication or psychic unity that is the *sine qua non* of true brotherhood.

We must find the exact conditions that must be fulfilled for such group unity, and the laws by which the Spirit operates in this realm. For example, we may posit the first law of telepathic unity as that of Intimacy. Most of the outstanding cases recorded are communication between members of the same family or very close personal friends. The experiments at Duke University demonstrated that couples of senders and receivers improved as they became better acquainted. An engaged couple was one of the best, but their score was lowered when they were having a tiff. Our pacifist cell groups must achieve a level of real personal intimacy to be effective spiritually.

A second law of telepathic communication might be called the Law of Intensity. Many of the cases of telepathy are signalized by death, or great suffering, or emotion. At such times the spirit reaches out with greater force, often with an audible cry directed at a specific person. A group cannot meet this condition without great persistence, deep earnestness, and strong conviction. Spiritual intensity is a condition of real unity. It took the early apostles many days of prayer and supplication with one accord before they received the power of the Spirit. It may take us even longer! And it will take powerful purpose and complete consecration to the group.

Certainly the field of telepathy must be explored more thoroughly by seekers after brotherhood. This article merely raises the problem and asks for further light and more investigation. We should undertake practical research. We should study the annals of the Society for Psychical Research, and other works. We should exchange experiences and insights. Let us move forward on this "new frontier of the mind," this new level of human unity and brotherhood.

Prison Charged with Savage Brutality

Testimony of two prison chaplains and the staff psychiatrist at the Springfield Medical Center bears out charges of brutality there, declared the *New York World-Telegram* on February 23, and calls for a "full, unsparing probe" of the whole situation. The testimony referred to was heard by the five-man board of inquiry headed by Prison Director James V. Bennett.

The saga of Louis Taylor and Stanley Murphy, imprisoned COs, had another vivid chapter added to it last month when charges of prison brutality, smuggled out of the Springfield (Missouri) prison-hospital by Taylor, brought a storm of indignation crashing around the ears of officials of the prison and of the Federal Bureau of Prisons in Washington.

The charges were listed in great detail in a series of documents listing a total of seventy-two witnesses and naming most of the guards and officials in question. Extending over a period of three years, the brutalities included beatings, poundings with fire hose, deprivation of food, torture with lighted cigarettes, kicks and punches to the most vulnerable parts of the body, and confinement for long periods in stripped stone cells, in which prisoners were forced to stay, naked, without heat, blankets, or furnishings of any kind.

The documents, including a 36-page notarized writ that one prisoner tried last October to have filed in Federal Court, were received by Evan Thomas, national chairman of the War Resisters League and member of the FOR National Council. They were the subject of several articles in the *New York World-Telegram* by Jay Nelson Tuck, staff writer for that paper and editor of *The Conscientious Objector*.

Tell of Revolting Savagery

Details of the charges were so revolting as to cause the *World-Telegram* to comment editorially: "We hold no brief for conscientious objectors. But we think it intolerable that they or any other prisoners should be treated like beasts by employees of a federal government which is still expressing its horror and rage at proofs of Japanese savagery."

(Although Taylor is a conscientious objector, most of those listed as victims of the tortures and beatings were imprisoned for other offenses, and many were in Springfield for treatment for physical or mental illness.)

Stormy Petrels

It is doubtful if the Federal Bureau of Prisons ever entertained two such upsetting visitors as Lou Taylor and Stanley Murphy.

The two men, who walked out of CPS after more than a year each in camp, continued their protest against conscription and the imprisonment of COs by inaugurating a hunger strike on their arrival at the Danbury (Conn.) Correctional Institution. This they continued for eighty-two days, during most of which time they underwent the painful process of tube-feeding through the nose.

In May, 1943, the men ended their fast on the promise of Federal prison officials that parole provisions for COs would be liberalized, a promise that has been only partially kept. Murphy and Taylor were transferred to the Medical Center in Springfield, although they were admitted by prison administrators to be in good condition mentally and physically.

In Springfield, according to word that Murphy was able to get to his mother, both were beaten and confined to the infamous stripped cells. Although Director Bennett at first denied the charges completely, he later yielded to pressure and appointed an investigating committee, as a result of whose report conditions were thought to have been improved.

The prisoner who drew up the 36-page writ, according to Taylor, was punished by being confined to one of the stripped cells and later was transferred to Leavenworth. He described brutalities that were a "daily occurrence," and attached a documented list of cases.

One of these he described as having happened on February 22, 1943, to a prisoner who refused to give guards some information they demanded. He was stripped naked, according to the writ, and thrown into a bare stone room where he was kept without food for the rest of the day. That night he was thrown a blanket and told to lie down. When he did not immediately do so, the writ continues, two guards named McDaniels and Hamilton entered the cell. McDaniels removed his watch, put on a ring and began to beat the prisoner. He kicked X———— in the groin, and then both guards beat him while he lay prone.

The following morning, continues the writ, the prisoner still had not been fed, and three more guards repeated the beating.

"When the attendants were through beating him there was blood on both sides of the wall and on the floor," the writ charged. "X———— could not rise to his feet, so the attendants lifted him to his feet, shook and slapped him to try to bring him back to consciousness. . . . Both of his lips were cut, both eyes were swollen closed, his nose was bloody and swollen, his whole body was bruised and swollen. The attendants forced him to take a bath and clean up the cell."

"Beaten to Death"

Another prisoner, James White, died after being beaten up for several days, Taylor wrote. This occurred on December 8, 1943. Although the hospital claimed that there were no signs of violence, internal or external, on White's body, the prisoner's brother said there were fresh gashes on White's hands and face, and a deep gash behind the ear. White's sister, who asked the local sheriff to see the body, wrote: "He says James really was beat to death."

Following publication of the first articles about the beatings, two former inmates of the Springfield institution voluntarily elaborated on the charges. One of them swore to an affidavit containing the following statement:

"Plenty of them die there. Boy, how I seen them die there. In the morgue there, in 2-building. I see plenty of them hollering blue murder there . . . I seen one guy die. Morris, his name was. They beat him up and then he went to a mess hall and all of a sudden he died right there. In the mess hall."

Demand Congress Investigate

These and similar accounts brought quick demands for a Congressional investigation from Norman Thomas, Socialist leader and brother of Evan, and from the *World-Telegram* itself, which declared that the atrocities "call for all the probes that Congress, the Attorney General, and any other high, disinterested authorities can start."

A probe of the alleged beatings that was begun by James V. Bennett, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, was summarily dismissed as inadequate by critics.

"Mr. Bennett is an interested party to the administration of the prison," Norman Thomas said. "I don't care what he says or what he does. Any prisoner seeing Bennett sitting there knows what he stands for."

Press and Dies Committee Attack "Peace Now" Group

An investigation by the Peace Now Movement by the Department of Justice has cleared the Movement of charges that it is seditious or treasonable.

A bitter attack on the six-months-old Peace Now Movement, launched almost simultaneously in January by the *New York Post,* the Scripps-Howard newspapers, and the Communist *Daily Worker,* was followed up in mid-February by a report by the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities that the Movement is engaged in "treasonable and seditious" activities.

The Peace Now Movement, whose chairman is Dr. George W. Hartmann, professor of sociology at Harvard and an FOR member, was launched last summer and has since been engaged in efforts to end the war in a negotiated peace. It is charged with having sought the aid of former America First members, ex-Bundists, anti-Semites, and other "subversive influences." The Dies Committee asserts that the Movement sent an appeal to heads of religious bodies asking that they urge the immediate laying down of arms by Christians in the armed forces. The Committee charges that this action was a "seditious act."

Most of the attacking newspaper writers and radio commentators have made some distinction between what they term "sincere pacifists" and the Peace Now adherents, although the Scripps-Howard articles referred to A. J. Muste as a "founding father" of the movement, a statement later corrected. The Communist *Daily Worker,* however, has maintained a constant running attack on the whole pacifist movement, implying that it had direct connections with Peace Now.

In an attempt to clarify the issue for FOR members, the Executive Committee on January 25 approved a statement, the full text of which was mailed to FOR group leaders across the country. Affirming the Fellowship's belief in the right of free speech, and recognizing the presence of "worthy and sincere people" in both the Peace Now Movement and the former America First Movement, the statement points out that the Fellowship of Reconciliation has at no time had any connection with either movement. It expressed the hope that the attacks might not result in "a wave of hysteria which would lead either private individuals or governmental agencies to launch a program of suppression of minority opinion."

Ex-Prisoners Unite

George Houser, non-registrant and Chicago FOR secretary, has organized a group of CO ex-prisoners, to pool information and ideas on the issues in the prison system today, and what can be done about them.

Help Clean Up Prisons

Members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and other readers, who wish to help remedy the prison conditions described on the preceding page, may take the following actions:

***a.* Write to your Senators and Representatives, urging that a Congressional investigation be launched on the basis of reports published in the daily press.**

***b.* Write to Attorney General Francis J. Biddle, asking that the Department of Justice cooperate in such an investigation, and that it take action independently to clean up these shameful conditions.**

***c.* Send to the Fellowship's national office copies (or summaries) of such letters, and particularly, copies of any replies received.**

May Bill Seeks Peacetime Draft

The "complete militarization of our educational system" is theatened by the "May Bill" on which hearings were begun the last week in February, warned A. J. Muste and John Nevin Sayre in a message sent to all Fellowship members. They urged members to act at once, wiring or writing Representatives, and arousing public opinion against the Bill, which would require a year of compulsory military training for all young men as they reach the age of 17, or graduate from high school. The measure would take effect after the war.

The bill was introduced by Congressman Andrew J. May of Kentucky, chairman of the House Military Affairs Committee, and is identified as HR 3947. Its passage would mean the establishment of universal peacetime conscription.

Hit Atrocity Stories

"Atrocity stories never represent the whole truth," declares the Chicago FOR Executive Committee in a statement released February 3 condemning the use of such stories by the government "as a propaganda weapon." The statement adds that the stories "are not directed against the evil of militarism, even of Japanese militarism. Rather, they are intended to arouse hatred and the spirit of vengeance against the whole Japanese people."

Bayard Rustin Gets Three-Year Sentence

Bayard Rustin, co-secretary of the Fellowship's Race Relations Department and expert in the techniques of non-violent direct action, was sentenced to three years in federal prison on February 17 by Judge Vincent Leibell. The charge was refusal to report for physical examination.

When, last November, he wrote his draft board of his decision not to report for his examination, Rustin, who has been involved in many dramatic incidents in his non-violent struggle for racial equality, wrote:

"Conscription for war is inconsistent with freedom of conscience, which is not merely the right to believe, but to act on the degree of truth that one has received to follow a vocation that is God-inspired and God-directed . . . The Conscription Act denies brotherhood. . . . Its aim springs from a moral impossibility—that ends justify means, that from unfriendly acts a new and friendly world can emerge."

Bayard Rustin is a member of the Society of Friends, a graduate of Wilberforce University, and a member of Omega Psi Phi fraternity. After volunteer work with the Friends here and in Puerto Rico, he came to the Fellowship in 1941 and has been with it since then.

Lynn Case Goes to U. S. Supreme Court

The Winfred Lynn case, challenging the army's Jim Crow policy, is being taken to the Supreme Court as a result of a two-to-one decision against Lynn handed down February 3 by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Lynn, a Negro who is now a corporal in a West Coast camp, brought suit when he was inducted into the army a year and a half ago. He claims that because he was drafted as part of an all-Negro segregated quota, his induction violated Section 4(a) of the Selective Service Act, which states that "in the selection and training of men under this Act . . . there shall be no discrimination against any person on account of race or color."

The majority decision of the Circuit Court cited the army's "long established practice of segregating enlisted men into separate white and colored units," and expressed the belief that had Congress wished to do away with this practice it would have put such intention "more definitely" than in Section 4.

Justice Charles E. Clark, who dissented, pointed out that the anti-discrimination clause was introduced into the Act "to quiet the doubts of the representatives of the colored peoples," and concluded: "I find it difficult to think of more apt language to express the Congressional intent."

Justice Clark's dissent supplies a firm legal basis for the appeal to the Supreme Court.

Pre-Induction Court Reviews Denied Draftees

Conscriptees who claim that they have been erroneously classified must report for induction before they can get a court review of their cases. according to a decision of the Supreme Court in January. The ruling, which came in the case of Nick Falbo, a Jehovah's Witness, was by an 8-to-1 vote, with Justice Murphy dissenting. Falbo, who claimed that an error was made by his draft board in refusing to classify him as a minister, refused to report for induction and was sentenced to five years in prison, a term he must now serve.

The majority ruling, written by Justice Black, held that if Congress had intended to authorize judicial review of draft classifications it would have said so.

In his dissenting opinion. Justice Murphy declared:

"That an individual should languish in prison for five years without being accorded the opportunity of proving that the prosecution was based upon arbitrary and illegal administrative action is not in keeping with the high standards of our judicial system. The law knows no finer hour than when it cuts through formal concepts and transitory emotions to protect unpopular citizens against discrimination and persecution."

Rev. J. E. Finlay Joins FOR Staff

The Rev. J. Elliott Finlay will begin work with the Fellowship on March 15 as co-secretary of the Literature Department. A graduate of Kalamazoo College (Michigan) and Southern Baptist Seminary, in Louisville, Kentucky, he comes to the Fellowship from The American Baptist Publication Society, in Philadelphia, where he has been an editor in the Young People's Department.

Mr. Finlay is an FOR member, and has been chairman of the Philadelphia Baptist Pacifist Fellowship. He brings with him to New York his wife Margaret, and their 2½-year old son, Jimmy.

Senate Urges that Europe Be Fed

The Senate on February 15 voted unanimous approval of Resolution 100 (the Taft-Gillette Bill) urging President Roosevelt to make every effort to get food to the starving people in the occupied countries of Europe. (Shipping for such food—and medicine—is available, but permission to go through the blockade has been withheld by the British Admiralty.)

The News in Brief

COs at Connecticut State Hospital, Middletown, have launched a drive to have their monthly allowance raised from $15 to $50. Pointing out that some of the men have worked on a non-pay basis for more than two years, with the result that their financial situation is becoming acute, the men ask that the increase, which would not require Congressional action, be extended to all Special Service units.

* * *

Dr. P. C. Hsu (Hsu Pao-Chien), outstanding Chinese Christian scholar and member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, was reported killed in a truck accident between Chungking and Chengtu, on January 21. Dr. Hsu was working as editor of a society preparing literature for the Chinese Christian church, to be published at the end of the war.

* * *

The Petroleum Reserves Corp., a government organization, is working with the Standard Oil Company of California and the Texas Company to build a pipe-line that will provide a billion-barrel "military reserve" of oil for the United States. The pipe-line, however, is thousands of miles from the nearest point of continental United States, in Saudi Arabia. Americans with long—or even fairly short—memories of the part the "secret war for oil" has played in bringing about past wars will be somewhat skeptical of this new gesture toward international amity.

* * *

A Spring FOR Conference, for students and CPS men, will be held at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, March 25 and 26. Details may be had from Ernest Lefever, Yale Divinity School, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

* * *

The "dependency committee" of CPS Camp 16, in Kane, Pa., is circulating a petition to be sent to Congress, the President, and General Hershey, requesting dependency allotment for the needy families of CPS men.

* * *

Eleven "spiritual retreats" will be convened in various sections of the Middle and Far West by Kirby Page, around the theme: "The Will of God for These Days." Between May 22 and September 3, these retreats will be held at Richmond, Indiana; Detroit; Boone, Iowa; Lake Geneva, Wisconsin; Lake Louise, Michigan; Washington Island in Lake Michigan; Iowa Wesleyan College, Mt. Pleasant, Iowa; Big Bear and Idyllwild Mountain Camps, Southern California; Forest Grove, Oregon; and Lake Tahoe, Nevada. Details may be had from Kirby Page, Box 247, La Habra, California.

* * *

A "correspondence course" in industrial relations has been made available to men in Friends CPS camps. Complete study kits are available through the educational directors of the camps.

* * *

Dr. John H. Dingle, director of an atypical pneumonia experiment at Gatlinburg, Tennessee, CPS camp, wrote to each of the men who had served as "guinea pigs": "Your willingness to serve as a volunteer . . . was a courageous act of the very highest order."

* * *

Mrs. Mohandas K. Gandhi, wife of the great Indian leader, died in the Aga Khan's palace at Poona on February 22. She and her husband have been interned at the palace by the British government since August, 1942, without trial. Mrs. Gandhi was 74.

* * *

John Nevin Sayre, co-secretary of the Fellowship, leaves New York on March 10 for a visit to Mexico in behalf of the International FOR, of which he is chairman. He will make his headquarters in Mexico City, returning to New York shortly after Easter.

* * *

And the Southeastern Regional Conference of the FOR is being held March 1 and 2 at Greensboro, N. C. One of the subjects that will come up for at least informal discussion is the Southern FOR's 1944 interracial work camp, which will run for five weeks in Nashville, Tenn.

* * *

The *Christian Century* (January 26) reports that the Virgin Mary has been made an honorary general in the Argentine army. "She receives no salary but is assigned a vivaticum of ten dollars a day, which, of course, is collected by the church!"

CONSCRIPTION

A Vital Issue — Now!

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Conscription, The Test of Peace

By Norman Thomas

Just Out — 10 cents

FOR Literature Department

FOR Field Secretaries

South: Constance Rumbough, 1804 Grand Avenue, Nashville 4, Tenn.; *Midwest:* Roger Axford, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 4033 University Way, Seattle, Wash.; *Northern California:* Caleb Foote, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 1837 N. Berendo Street, Los Angeles 27, Cal.; *Rocky Mountain:* Margaret Rohrer, 440 East 13th Avenue, Denver 3, Colo.; *Rural:* Warren Nelson, Prairie du Sac, Wis.; *Refugee:* Marion Frenyear, 2929 Broadway, New York 25, N. Y.

Pro and Con

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

CPS and the Second Mile

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In his article, "CPS and the Second Mile," Evan Thomas hit the nail on the head when he said, "It is one thing for individuals or like-minded groups to offer service without pay. It is another thing, unsocial and unjust, to force men to work without pay." This is the crux of the CPS difficulty.

After being in two camps and two mental hospitals for a total of more than two years, the injustice of the present system strikes me more forcibly all the time. From an initial disagreement with Thomas' point of view and a naive belief that I was going to be a "creative pioneer" in a glorified summer work-camp, I have come to complete agreement with his position.

It is time for pacifists to stop playing fast and loose with the lives of CPS men. The National Council of the FOR, although its members personally favored withdrawal from the NSBRO, acceded to the wishes of the majority of the membership, and voted to stay in.

In my opinion, it is now desirable for the membership to accede to the wishes of the FOR members in CPS, and withdraw from the NSB. After all, the FOR members in CPS, who voted clearly for withdrawal, are the ones whom the decision affects most directly.

ROBERT HEGLER

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Evan Thomas' emphasis upon the *voluntary* aspect of the true "second mile" is to me the most important point brought out in his article. However, I emphatically disagree with his contention that the Peace Churches are *forcing* CPS men to "go the second mile." The government, not the churches, is responsible for the conscription for national service, either with or without pay, which constitutes the "first mile." The conscientious objector is required to perform certain minimum hours of labor, either in a government or a church-supervised camp, and it is not necessary for him to make any financial contribution toward his own upkeep. However, he does have open to him several ways in which he may *voluntarily* "go the second mile." First, he may contribute money himself toward the general expenses of CPS, covering part, all, or more than the cost of his own maintenance. Second, he may contribute some of his leisure time to volunteer projects for improving community conditions in the neighborhood of his camp. Third, he may attend evening classes and by every available means prepare himself for future volunteer service such as post-war relief and reconstruction. Fourth, he may volunteer for certain detached service projects, which may involve considerable personal risk and sacrifice, such as forest-fire fighting by parachute, acting as a guinea pig for medical research, or the disagreeable work in state psychiatric hospitals. Although there are still many unsatisfactory features about the CPS program, particularly the military rather than civilian direction (contrary to the law) and the lack of financial support for dependents, nevertheless we realize that the NSBRO is fully aware of these problems and has been making unmistakable progress in improving conditions.

We are aware that many sincere Christian people feel that they have no alternative but to use armed force in their struggle to create a better world. I can only hope that absolutists like Evan Thomas will be patient with those other pacifists who feel called upon to cooperate with a certain amount of coercion in the name of service to humanity, seeking at the same time to exemplify insofar as possible that spirit of love upon which depends true reconciliation in human conflict.

WINTHROP M. LEEDS

"Alternative Service"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Suppose that a totalitarian state, in the hands of a Protestant dictatorship, its intolerance caused by "an economic system that results in want and frustration within and among nations," calls upon men to register their religious affiliations. Suppose it becomes the law that the Protestant form of religious service is permitted to continue after registration, and that a Catholic (or Jew) may join any branch of this he prefers (within a sort of limitation under Selective Service), but if he finds himself by religious training and belief conscientiously unable to do so, he may, if duly registered as a devout Catholic (or Jew) and so classified, be granted an alternative service—he may worship as a Quaker.

Would you counsel the Catholic (or Jew) to register, accept the Quaker alternative, and "make his ultimate stand of non-cooperation at the point of worshiping as a Methodist?—since "a fast to bring on socialism," and presumably religious toleration, "would hardly be effective at the moment." Can't he realize, one might ask, that the state has partially (if not, as others would say, generously) recognized his conscience?—he may be either a Methodist or a Quaker.

PAUL A. REYNOLDS

War and Freedom

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The more I see, read, and experience as a member of the Armed Forces the more I am convinced of the absolute inefficiency of the war scheme to do anything but tear down, and up. Even if we did nothing but leave the soldiers in camps over here, we would so destroy the sense of volition, logic, reason, and sensitiveness in most of them, that we would have to start retraining them as soon as they were discharged. All the spirit of freedom is being deranged here, or at best made to fit a particular mould, nationalistic and short-sighted in view. The gullibility of the average man in uniform is amazing, yet in many respects they fall in line less easily than the civilian. The person from overseas appears to be less lost. War for him is a dirty business. His mind is beginning to awaken to the contrast between the story and the reality. While in the hospital there was one common feeling the overseas casualties placed first: not until a man is in the midst of what is glibly called "defending democracy" is he conscious of how sweet life is, and how much he wants to live. This hero stuff is a lot of hokum, Hollywood style.

I have had some tremendously satisfying tendencies that give promise of bearing fruit one day. Whether they are just the usual manifestations that go along with war, I do not know. But it seems to me that a lot may depend upon how well the forces of good are marshalled. Men are easily led. And while it will take a great change of heart by a great many people to really establish a lasting peace, a strong minority of peacemakers strongly united can do an awful lot toward swaying the sheep away from slaughter. So, we must continue to work hard these days declaring our faith, though the heavens fall in around us.

1AO

Mail in Prison

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I don't know how much you hear from those who have been released from prison. We all appreciated the many Christmas cards that came our way. I received many more this past year than the year before. But I would like to emphasize what Art Dole wrote in a letter published in an earlier issue of *Fellowship*. A letter a week from each correspondent on his list would be a revolutionary and very, very welcome change to an inmate.

After all, a man in prison is limited to only seven correspondents, and when he doesn't hear from them he's sunk. Most people would be surprised to know how few people do write once a week to their correspondents in prison.

JOE ALTER

The New Budget

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Thank heaven we are expanding our work! Now more than ever it must grow. Unless it grows to cover the world, where shall men look for peace? Unless we are sensitive to, and meet the rising needs in the international field, in race relations, and among our young people, we shall be unfit to lead toward the Kingdom of God on earth.

VERNON LIPPITT

Have You a Rundown, Sluggish Conscience?

HAS your conscience begun to sag and become flabby from overwork in these tense, wartime days? Do you feel as though you're losing your grip on things?

In the strain of trying to make right decisions for 12, 14, or 16 hours a day, you may reach the danger point without realizing it. Try the simple test in the next column. If it shows that you have begun to bend under the strain, better order some of our new vitamin packages (VFV's) right away.

TRY THIS QUICK TEST

1. At the words "just and durable," do you see (a) a sphere floating in a roseate haze? (b) an archbishop riding on a white charger? (c) spots before your eyes?

2. At sight of a new 500-page book called "Peace—Here It Comes Again," do your hands tremble? Do you feel an uncontrollable urge to go to the movies?

3. Do you sometimes catch yourself wishing you were in Tibet?

If you answered "Yes" to any of these, you need VFV's. Probably you need them even if you answered "No."

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C A larger dose, but very strengthening, is *The Fall of Christianity,* by G. J. Heering. (Foreword by E. S. Jones.) "Indispensable for any pacifist library," says John Haynes Holmes. $1.50. (Special to students, CPS men—25c per copy.)

X-CONCENTRATE In capsule form are these *Fellowship* reprints: *Massacre by Bombing* (Brittain) .10; *Slaughter of the Innocent* (Hassler) .02, $1 per 100; *Pacifism After the War* (Muste) .05; *They Asked for a Hard Job* (Olmstead) .05.

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FELLOWSHIP

March 1944 PART TWO Vol. X—No. 3

Massacre by Bombing

THE FACTS BEHIND THE BRITISH-AMERICAN ATTACK ON GERMANY

By VERA BRITTAIN

Editor's Note—The manuscript of this article, first printed in England under the title of *Seed of Chaos,* was received in this country after the publication of *Slaughter of the Innocent,* in the February issue of *Fellowship.* It has been slightly altered to bring the facts and statistics up to date, and an American Postcript has been added

FOREWORD

In his oration on Areopagus, St. Paul declared that God had made all men of one blood so that they might seek and find Him together; and this declaration remains to this day the classical clue to the right significance and conduct of life. In these days, however, it would appear that the chief end of man is mass fratricide; and all the science and technical skill that mankind has acquired with the years is devoted to the service of Death. In our time, as never before, war is showing itself in its logical colors. In the First World War, some shreds of the rules of war were observed to the end. Laws of war are intrinsically paradoxical; but so far as they went, they bore witness to the survival of some fragments of a Christian conscience among the combatants. But today these fragments are disappearing. The contesting parties pay little heed to the former decencies and chivalries, save among their own comrades.

Something of this story is told in the following pages, and it is hoped that it may move its readers to do something about it. In some way it should be possible to apprise the public authorities of the grave and mounting anxiety of ordinary folk as they daily read the story of incessant bombing in Europe. In the meantime, Christian people should be moved to examine themselves concerning their participation in this carnival of death—even though they be thousands of miles away. Here surely there is a call to repentance; that we have not acquainted ourselves with the verities and realities of what is being done in our name in Europe; and surely Christian obligation calls upon us to pray incessantly to God that He in His own way may bid the winds and waves of war be still.

George A. Buttrick
Allan Knight Chalmers
J. Henry Carpenter
Henry H. Crane
Albert E. Day
Phillips P. Elliott
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Georgia Harkness
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Josephine Johnson
E. Stanley Jones
John Paul Jones
Rufus Jones
John H. Lathrop
Kenneth Scott Latourette
W. Appleton Lawrence
Elmore M. McKee
Walter Mitchell
Kirby Page
Clarence Pickett
Edwin McNeill Poteat
Richard Roberts
Paul Scherer
Ralph Sockman
Ernest F. Tittle
Oswald Garrison Villard
Winifred Wygal

Massacre by Bombing

By VERA BRITTAIN

"The destruction of German industrial cities is proceeding at a constantly increasing pace . . . Berlin is now a shambles. The destruction of other, smaller targets will require much less time."

General George C. Marshall
February 4, 1944, *N. Y. Herald Tribune*

HOW much do the American and British people understand and approve of the policy of "obliteration bombing" now being inflicted by us upon the civilians of enemy and enemy-occupied countries, including numbers of young children born since the outbreak of war? The propagandist paragraphs in the press which describe this bombing and its results skillfully conceal their real meaning from the normally unimaginative reader by such carefully chosen phrases as *softening up* an area, *neutralizing the target, area bombing, saturating the defenses,* and *blanketing an industrial district.*

It is only when the facts are collected, and the terrible sum of suffering which they describe estimated as a whole, that we realize that, owing to our air raids, hundreds of thousands of helpless and innocent people in German, Italian, and German-occupied cities are being subjected to agonizing forms of death and injury comparable to the worst tortures of the Middle Ages.

From the extreme discomfort of this realization, the average citizen seeks to escape by two principal arguments.

Bombing to Shorten the War

In the first place he maintains that mass bombing will "shorten the war," a contention now much favored by government officials and some leading churchmen.

To this there are several replies.

First, there is no *certainty* that such a shortening of the war will result, and nothing less than absolute certainty entitles even the most ardent of the war's supporters to use these dreadful expedients. Mr. Churchill himself has described the mass bombing of German cities as an "experiment."[1] What does appear certain is the downward spiral in moral values, ending in deepest abysses of the human spirit, to which this argument leads. Those who remember the First World War will recall that precisely the same excuse—that it would "shorten" the period of hostilities—was given by the Germans for their policy of *Schrecklichkeit* (terror), and was used in connection with their submarine campaign. We refused to accept the argument as valid then or when the Nazis revived it in this war to justify the bombing of Warsaw, Rotterdam, Belgrade, London and Coventry.

Second, when the word "shorten" is used, it is generally meant to imply the limiting or reduction of the total amount of human suffering and destruction. Such a time test is misleading. In a vast, concentrated raid, lasting a few minutes, more persons may be killed or injured than in a modern major battle lasting two or three weeks, in addition to the destruction of an irreplaceable material heritage of buildings, art treasures and documents, representing centuries of man's creative endeavor. In fact, mass bombing of great centers of population represents a speed-up of human slaughter, misery and material destruction superimposed on that of the military fighting fronts.

Third, the "experiment" has demonstrated, so far, that mass bombing does not induce revolt or break morale. Victims are stunned, exhausted, apathetic, absorbed in the immediate tasks of finding food and shelter. But as they recover who can doubt that there will be, among the majority at any rate, the desire for revenge and a hardening process, even if, for a time, it may be subdued by fear? Thus we are steadily creating in Europe the psychological foundations for a Third World War.

Bombing for Revenge

The second main argument brought forward to excuse our present policy of obliteration bombing is that we too have suffered—as indeed we have—and that therefore we are *fully entitled to pay back what we have endured.*

With this double contention George Bernard Shaw dealt characteristically in a letter to the *Sunday Express* (November 28, 1943): "The blitzing of the cities has carried war this time to such a climax of infernal atrocity that all recriminations on that score are ridiculous. The Germans will have as big a bill of atrocities against us as we against them if we take them into an impartial international court."

There are three further replies that should also be considered carefully by all rational people.

First, investigations into the origins of civilian bombing (as distinct from the bombing that forms part of a military campaign) make clear the difficulty of justly assessing with whom lay the fault of starting it. The cumulative growth of civilian bombing to its present nightmare stage seems, on present information, to be an outstanding instance of the tragic fashion in which wartime cruelty grows like a snowball by its own momentum once the power of Juggernaut has taken control. Some accidental violation of international law, assumed to be deliberate, is repaid by a reprisal "in kind." The enemy "hits back"; we retaliate harder still; in each case the accidental consequences (such as the bombing of a church in mistake for a factory) are advertised by the victim as intentional, for propaganda purposes. So the grim competition goes on until the mass-murder of civilians becomes part of our policy, a descent into barbarism that we should have contemplated with horror in 1939.

Second, though parts of Britain suffered cruelly in the "blitz," some of the terrible inventions and tactics now

[1] See footnote 12, page 54.

being used were not known or practiced at that stage of the war. Even in those early days the knowledge of our distress and confusion was limited to the areas that endured them, and particularly to the surviving victims and to Civil Defense and rescue workers who actually had to deal with the shambles to which German bombs reduced many humble homes. It is, I believe, the comparative rarity of first-hand experience among the majority of the British and American people which accounts for their supine acquiescence in obliteration bombing.

My own experience is relatively small, but as a Londoner who has been in many raids and who spent eighteen months as a volunteer fireguard, I have seen and heard enough to know that I cannot acquiesce when this obscenity of terror and mutilation is imposed upon the helpless civilians of another country. Nor do I believe that the majority of our airmen, who are assured that mass bombing reduces the period of their own peril, really want to preserve their own lives by sacrificing German women and babies, any more than our soldiers would go into action using "enemy" mothers and children as a screen.

Third, retaliation in kind and worse means the reduction of ourselves to the level of our opponents whose perverted values have persuaded us to fight. However anxious we may be to win the war, the *way* in which we win it will also determine our future standing as nations. If we imitate and intensify the enemy's methods, we shall actually have been defeated by the very evils which we believe ourselves to be fighting!

It is to the credit of some of the worst-bombed areas of England that many of their inhabitants have recognized this vital truth. In April, 1941, when the British Institute of Public Opinion carried out a survey of the whole country's response to the question: "Would you approve or disapprove if the RAF adopted a policy of bombing the civilian population in Germany?" it was noticeable that *the people of the heavily bombed areas were less in favor of reprisal bombing than those who had escaped the raids.* The largest vote in favor of reprisals (76 percent of the population) came from the safe areas of Cumberland, Westmorland, and the North Riding. In the bombed areas of London, which had then endured eight months of heavy and continuous raids, 47 percent disapproved of reprisals, 45 percent approved, and the rest were undecided.[2]

When, therefore, on July 15, 1941, Mr. Churchill said at the County Hall: "If tonight the people of London were asked to cast their vote whether a convention should be entered into to stop the bombing of all cities, the overwhelming majority would cry, 'No, we will mete out to the Germans the measure, and more than the measure, that they have meted out to us,' " he was disregarding opinions ascertained only two months earlier.

"I wouldn't wish this trouble on any other woman!" cries the young mother in A. Burton Cooper's Lancashire play, *We Are The People,* after her small boy has been blown to pieces by a daylight bomb on a local playground. And that, I believe, is the normal reaction of every decent person, once real knowledge has come to him or her through individual suffering.

It is because I want you who read, to have such knowledge, so far as facts ascertained from sources available under wartime conditions can give it to you, that I am going to describe, with references to my sources of information, what our bombing policy means to those who have to endure its results. I shall have to quote some horrible details, but these are not included from sensational motives. They are given in order that you who read may realize exactly what the citizens of one Christian country are doing to the men, women and children of another. Only when you know these facts are you in a position to say whether or not you approve. If you do not approve, it is for you to make known your objection, *remembering always that it is the infliction of suffering, far more than its endurance, which morally damages the soul of a nation.*

The History of Our Bombing Offensive

1. Changes of Policy

In the early days of the war, the British government's insistence that Britain bombed only military objectives was matched by the righteous indignation of official communiques whenever German bombs fell on churches, hospitals, schools, or private dwellings. From the highest Ministerial circles to the lowest, this scrupulousness was maintained. On April 17, 1943 a letter from Sir Leo Chiozza Money to the *New Statesman* concluded with these words:

"Swift is the growth of hate. I would like to remind your readers that it was as recently as Jan. 27, 1940, that Mr. Winston Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, condemned the bombing of an enemy as a 'new and odious form of attack,' and refused to listen to the clamor then arising that bombers should cease to drop leaflets by night and load up with 'beautiful bombs.' I may add that when the present writer read Mr. Churchill's strong denunciation of a new and odious form of warfare, it seemed to me (I wrote on February 10, 1940) that I recognized the good sense and good feeling I had always associated with the man who uttered it."

It is necessary only to quote some recent Ministerial pronouncements to realize how violent has been the change in the attitude of the Prime Minister and his deputies during the past twenty months, and how steep the deterioration in moral standards since the opening days of the war.

On June 2, 1942, Mr. Churchill gave the following undertaking to the House of Commons:

"As the year advances, German cities, harbors and centers of war production will be subjected to an ordeal the like of which has never been experienced by any country in continuity, severity or magnitude."

Nearly a year later, addressing the U. S. Congress in May, 1943, he issued a similar threat to Japan:

"It is the duty of those who are charged with the direction of the war to . . . begin the process so necessary and desirable of laying the cities and the other military centers of Japan in ashes, for in ashes they must surely lie before peace comes back to the world."

It seems possible that the American reaction to this obliteration policy was not precisely what the Prime Minister expected, for on September 8, 1943, the *News-Chronicle* reports President Roosevelt as assuring Congress that "we were not bombing tenements for the sadistic pleasure of killing as the Nazis did, but blowing to bits carefully selected targets—factories, shipyards, munition dumps."

Nevertheless, having spoken in July of "the systematic

2 *London News-Chronicle,* May 2, 1941.

shattering of German cities," Mr. Churchill further expanded his theme to the House of Commons on September 21, 1943:

"The almost total systematic destruction of many of the centers of German war effort continues on a greater scale and at a greater pace. The havoc wrought is indescribable and the effect upon the German war production in all its forms . . . is matched by that wrought upon the life and economy of the whole of that guilty organization. . ."

On the same occasion he told the House: *"There are no sacrifices we will not make, no lengths in violence to which we will not go."* A week or two later, in a message to Bomber Command he described this process as "beating the life out of Germany."

It is hardly surprising that Mr. Churchill's subordinates have followed his lead with imitative threats. At Quebec in August Brendan Bracken, Minister of Information, stated to the press: "Our plans are to bomb, burn, and ruthlessly destroy in every way available to us the people responsible for creating this war."[3]

Echoes of these threats have appeared in the press in articles and paragraphs so numerous that it is impossible to quote them. In April, 1942, the new policy was welcomed by John Gordon, editor of the *Sunday Express,* in words the implications of which become more astonishing the longer they are considered:

"Germany, the originator of war by air terror, is now finding that terror recoiling on herself with an intensity that even Hitler in his most sadistic dreams never thought possible."[4]

2. *Changes of Method*

The change from "precision" to "obliteration" bombing has necessarily involved extensive changes in method and tactics. Though the policy is still officially the bombing of military objectives, these objectives have been extended to cover the "hearts" of great cities, containing offices, flats, tenements, and workers' dwellings; any "target," in fact, that will destroy Germany's morale and break the will of her people.

This was admitted by Sir Archibald Sinclair on March 31, 1943, in the House of Commons, in reply to a question by Mr. R. R. Stokes, who asked the Secretary of State for Air whether on any occasion instructions had been given to British airmen to engage in area bombing rather than limit their attention to purely military targets. Sir Archibald replied: "The targets of Bomber Command are always military, but night bombing of military objectives necessarily involves bombing the area in which they are situated."

Bombing an area in which military objectives are situated is, of course, exactly the method for which we condemned the Nazis in Warsaw, Rotterdam, and Belgrade. The lack of compunction to which it leads is illustrated by the following comment in the *Sunday Dispatch* of March 21, 1943:

"Bomber personnel, often in miserable weather, and under attack by vicious fighters, try to hit their targets. Any attempt to persuade them to worry unduly about civilians is an attempt to impair their military value."

The same loss of scrupulousness is shown by the actual carrying out of raids under conditions in which it is not even possible to distinguish residential areas from military or industrial targets. This growing habit was carried to its extreme in a raid on Frankfurt on November 25, 1943. According to the *London Daily Herald* of November 27, "There was thick cloud three miles deep" over the city when the bombers arrived. "The crews saw nothing of the town. It was blind bombing." The same process of bombing through heavy clouds was adopted during the raid on Cologne at the end of June, 1943, when the Cathedral was damaged. It has been applied to Berlin and other cities.

3. *Changes of Tactics*

The adoption of area bombing has been marked by many new developments that have increased the terror and torture of our raids. The chief of these has been the use of *cascade bombing*—otherwise known as *saturation raids*—by which a great number of heavy bombs are dropped on a limited area in a period so brief that immense destruction goes on simultaneously in all parts of the target city, and the defenses are unable to function effectively. The method is to set the center of cities on fire by means of many thousands of incendiary bombs, after which later planes dump successive loads of high explosive on fires already started —of necessity indiscriminately, since visibility is obscured by smoke!

On July 30, 1943, this comment appeared in *The Spectator:*

"Such a phenomenon as the discharge of 2,300 tons of explosives and incendiaries over a limited built-up area within fifty minutes has no sort of parallel in history. The heaviest of the raids on London, terrible as they seemed to us at the time, were by comparison quite small affairs."

The American magazine, *Time,* summarizing official statistics given out by Air Vice Marshall R. H. M. S. Saundby commented as follows:

"On May 30, 1942 the RAF loosed 17½ tons a minute on Cologne; on September 3, 1943 the delivery rate was 50 tons a minute on Berlin. In recent raids the rate was 120 tons of bombs per square mile in an hour, or 80 *times the intensity of London's heaviest attack.* The RAF's goal is 200 tons a minute."[5]

During the great raids on Hamburg, according to the *Daily Telegraph,*[6] the Germans reported a new RAF method of swamping the city's defenses.

"The RAF, they state, at the beginning of a raid mark the target area by a series of 'rings' of green flares, and the following waves of bombers drop their bombs in the periphery of these rings, so as to cut off the German ARP personnel to prevent it reaching these districts. Then the interior rings are littered with bombs and incendiaries.

"The terrific heat causes a vacuum of air in the bombed districts, and air rushes from other parts of the town. In this way regular tornadoes arise. They are so strong that people are thrown flat on the ground, and the fire brigades cannot get to the blitzed area with their equipment.

"These violent currents of air serve to spread the fire to surrounding districts.

"The 'ring system,' which was first used over Hamburg, has another effect. A number of people there died through lack of oxygen caused by the terrible heat. Hamburg has excellent shelters; they are, in fact, real bunkers, but it was found on opening some that though they were undamaged, many people had died from suffocation."

[3] *London News-Chronicle,* August 20, 1943.
[4] *Sunday Express,* April 20, 1942.
[5] *Time,* December 20, 1943.
[6] August 12, 1943.

When these Hamburg raids were concluded, Ronald Walker, Air Correspondent to the *News-Chronicle,* reported:

"The six attacks on the city, port and U-boat yards of Hamburg during four nights and three days probably come nearer than any other series of attacks on Germany to the Harris aim of blotting out a target. . . . Air Chief Marshal Sir Arthur Harris, RAF Bomber Command Chief, has made his bombing plan quite plain—the complete destruction of the German industrial cities and ports, one by one. His idea is to pound them with blows of devastating weight and to keep up that pounding until there is no question of salvage or repair."

4. Sir Arthur Harris and His Policy

The change of RAF policy from "precision" to "area" bombing began on March 3, 1942, with the appointment of Sir Arthur Travers Harris to the control of Bomber Command. According to a press report on March 29, 1943, Air Marshal Billy Bishop, who himself told New Yorkers that he did not care "if there is not one house left standing in Germany" described Sir Arthur Harris as a "tiger with no mercy in his heart towards the enemy."

The pitiless policy of this man is backed, of course, by the determination of our political leaders to "bomb, burn, and ruthlessly destroy," as Brendan Bracken put it. To a handful of individuals invested with the disproportionate powers conferred by totalitarian war, millions of Germans, Italians and French owe the devastation of beautiful historic towns, and thousands of families in enemy and occupied countries, the death, injury, or mental derangement of young, helpless, and cherished members. These memories alone, of grief and unspeakable horror, are likely to prove an implacable obstacle to the building of a better world.

The old historic towns of Lübeck and Rostock were the first to suffer, in March and April, 1942, from the new form of bombing. According to *The Times* of January 1, 1943, the RAF destroyed more than 40 percent of the one and 70 percent of the other.[7] Then, on May 30-31, came the first thousand-bomber raid on Cologne, in which a neutral report gave the number of persons killed in the one night as 20,000, and Abetz, the Nazi representative in Paris, acknowledged between 11,000 and 15,000.

Under the heading "High Road to Hell," *Time,* (July 7, 1943), commented thus:

"The air offensive against Germany and Axis Europe is suffering from understatement. The objective is not merely to destroy cities, industries, human beings and the human spirit on a scale never before attempted by air action. The objective is to defeat Hitler with bombs, and to do it in 1943."

Is the "understatement" referred to by *Time* perhaps due to a recognition, by those who are responsible for the RAF onslaught, that the ordinary decent citizens of Britain and the United States would not continue to acquiesce in this type of bombing offensive if they were given full details, and realized what these attacks mean for human flesh and blood? The same issue of *Time* names the men who initiated the change in bombing tactics as "Air Marshal Chief Sir Arthur Travers Harris, chief of the RAF Bomber Command, and Major General Ira Clarence Eaker, commander of the U. S. Eighth Air Force."

[7] Official photographs show that the centers of these towns were devastated, the main shopping streets having been the targets, though far distant from any recognizable military objectives.

During a speech in Northamptonshire (November 6, 1943), Sir Arthur Harris declared:

"We propose entirely to emasculate every center of enemy production, forty of which are centers vital to his war effort and fifty that can be termed considerably important. We are well on the way to their destruction."

These ninety centers, said Sir Arthur, were all in Germany. Others in Italy and occupied territory would be "treated separately." To make the experiment of bringing Germany to her knees by bombing, we are thus committed to reduce to ruins ninety great cities, with their museums, libraries, hospitals, colleges, schools, churches—and human beings. That this can be done, *The Spectator* of July 30, 1943, left us in no doubt:

"Thanks to the vast American production, the scale" (of air attacks) "can still rise. It is over twice what it was a year ago; a year hence, if the war still requires it, it will be twice as much again."

We seem likely to have been right who were accustomed to state, during the twenty years' truce, that another war might well mean the end of civilization. Let us now consider how far human life and treasure have already been destroyed by our raids.

The Bombing of Germany

I am going to quote, first, some figures from German sources. Although we might not accept them if they stood alone, authoritative British and American figures which I shall also quote, go far toward making the German figures credible. They are probably an understatement, especially if we take into account the very great additional damage done by our bombing in the three months since the German figures were reported.

At the end of October, 1943, according to the Berlin correspondent of the Stockholm paper *Afton Tidningen,* the German Ministry of Home Security disclosed that 102,486 persons were killed in RAF raids on twelve German towns in the seven months from April 1 to October 25, 1943.[8]

The towns were: Hamburg, 28,350; Cologne, 18,146; Dortmund 15,008; Hanover, 6,320; Düsseldorf, 6,205; Bochum, 4,829; Duisberg, 4,763; Wuppertal, 4,635; Mannheim, 4,368; Nuremberg, 3,347; Frankfurt, 3,184; Kassel, 2,731.

These figures do not include bodies which could not be identified.

According to a member of the German Government Statistics Office in Berlin, 1,200,086 German civilians were killed or reported missing believed killed in air raids from the beginning of the war up to October 1, says a Zurich message. The number of people bombed out and evacuated owing to air-raid danger was 6,953,000. . . .[9]

The number killed by German air raids on Britain from the beginning of the war to October 31, 1943, is just over 50,000.[10] Apart from all that we have done to Italy and to German-occupied countries, our reprisals mean that on Germany alone we had before the end of October inflicted more than twenty-four times the amount of suffering that we have endured. The subsequent annihilation attacks on Berlin and other targets have, of course, greatly swelled

[8] This figure did not include those killed in the later colossal attacks on Berlin and other cities.

[9] *News-Chronicle,* Oct. 29, 1943. (Bold face mine.)

[10] The exact figure is 50,088 killed, this total being made up as follows: 22,842 men; 20,288 women; 6,424 children; 534 "unclassified" (presumably includes missing, believed killed).

that total of suffering. No doubt there are many non-adult minds which will find reason for satisfaction in the anguish that we have caused to the enemy. But others will reflect more responsibly that each one of those million dead (to say nothing of the injured and seven million homeless) have relatives and friends who will remember. Their memories will be even more dreadful than those of the post-war blockade in 1919, which was a chief origin of nazism. We shall have to reckon with those memories when the days of rebuilding come.

On May 29, 1943, the German radio gave the following details of non-military buildings completely destroyed in air raids: churches, 133; schools, 191; hospitals, 108; while "heavily damaged" were 494 churches, 920 schools, and 231 hospitals. The number must have risen enormously since then, for in his speech at Cheltenham on November 5, 1943, Sir Archibald Sinclair disclosed that during May, June and July, 1943, Bomber Command dropped over 52,000 tons of bombs. He added that while five percent of Coventry was destroyed in the German attacks of 1940, 40 percent of Essen had been virtually destroyed, 54 percent of Cologne, and 74 percent of Hamburg.[11]

Coming now to British and American statistics the few paragraphs which I shall quote next are illuminating.

According to the *News-Chronicle* of July 3, 1943, the total bomb tonnage dropped by the *Luftwaffe* on British cities in the peak year of 1940-41 was approximately 35,000 tons. At no period did the "blitz" reach an average of 750 tons a night. The biggest raid was about 450 tons on London on one night of 1941. In April, 1941, one of the more intense months of raiding on Britain, the Nazis dropped about 6,000 tons (i.e. less than half of the RAF bomb load in June, 1943).

In the second half of October, 1943, an article by Air Commodore Howard-Williams, Air Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph,* revealed that in the 100 days and nights from July 9 to October 17, no less than 74,000 tons of bombs were dropped on Germany and German-occupied Europe by the RAF and the U. S. Army Air Force. Of this total, Bomber Command dropped 56,000 tons in night attacks, 48,000 tons being dropped on targets in Germany. The writer justifies these attacks by quoting an RAF commentator to the effect that "the enemy's industrial cities were now great labor camps" in which the houses of the workers were "virtual barracks." The commentator did not mention how many children lived in these "barracks."

Later Air Commodore Howard-Williams informs us that "half of Germany's principal cities have already been heavily bombed. Some seventeen of them have been very severely mauled. . . . For instance, Hamburg has had the equivalent of at least 60 'Coventries,' Cologne 17, Düsseldorf 12, and Essen 10."

Time on December 20, 1943 compared Air Vice Marshall Saundby's figures of German devastation with what they would mean to American cities. *Time* said:

"One-fourth of the area in German cities attacked by the RAF since May 11, 1940 has been devastated. In the ruins of Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Cologne 'civilized life . . . is no longer possible.' Seventeen major cities in northwest Germany are 'liabilities . . . to the enemy war machine.' Six others need only one more good pasting to join those seventeen. In all, 31 cities throughout Germany have been smacked since last December in 48 attacks of 500 tons or more. In roughly comparable U. S. terms, similar air attacks would have devastated three-quarters of Los Angeles, Cleveland, Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, Minneapolis, Cincinnati, Newark, Louisville, St. Paul. 'Civilized life' would no longer be possible in Detroit, Pittsburgh, Buffalo."

Eighteen months ago, in the *Sunday Express* of September 13, 1942, Mr. John Gordon assured us that "for the first time the Germans are really beginning to squeal." They have not yet "squealed" to an extent which terminates the indescribable ordeal of their mothers and children. How much longer will the British and American people consent to this infliction, in their name, of wholesale massacres which even their leaders regard as experimental?[12]

"If the growing horror of air war, which surpasses all powers of imagination, does not diminish, the day must come when the limits of endurance are passed."[13]

Are we really willing to wait and watch without protest till those limits of endurance are reached? Not protest and revolt, but apathy, fatigue, and a mechanical endeavor to save what can still be saved, are the immediate results of concentrated bombing. The breaking-point—difficult in any case to reach with a Gestapo-ruled people—may still be far away.

The Facts Behind the Figures

I propose now to examine the effects of our raids upon ten sample German cities or areas, dealing with these in alphabetical order for convenience of reference.

1. *Aachen*

Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) was a relatively small and pleasant industrial town of 160,000 inhabitants, situated on the Belgo-German border. I stayed there for a few days in 1936. Besides being industrial it was also full of history, one of the most famous buildings being the Basilica with its relics of Charlemagne, who made Aachen his capital and was buried there in 814.

The town has been attacked by the RAF several times, the Basilica being reported damaged after a raid during the summer of 1941. How badly it suffered and whether it has been damaged again I do not know. In a recent heavy raid (July, 1943) several 8,000-pound bombs were dropped, and a few hours later smoke from the fires had risen four miles high. The Berlin radio reported: "The streets of Aachen are burning. Flames leap up from every house. The streets are full of rubble, splintered glass, and burning beams."

Long before this raid Sir Archibald Sinclair, reported in the *London Times* of March 5, 1942, had said: "Aachen and Münster are certainly in worse condition than Coventry and Plymouth." According to the *Times* of January 1, 1943, 30 percent of Aachen (i.e. nearly 160 acres, which is more than the devastated area of the City of London) had already been destroyed at that time.

2. *Berlin*

After a great RAF raid on March 1, 1943, 1,000 people were reported killed, fires were still burning three days

[11] The *London Times,* Nov. 6, 1943.

[12] "They (Harris and Eaker) have assured their military superiors that Germany can be bombed out of the war this year. . . . Winston Churchill stated the reaction of the global strategists when he said: '*The experiment is well worth trying so long as other measures are not excluded.*'" *Time.* June 7, 1943. (Italics the editor's.)

[13] *London Sunday Express,* Aug. 29, 1943.

later, and the Friedrichstrasse had 45 craters. Reporting this attack, the *Daily Herald* (March 20, 1943) reminded its readers that only twice during the raids on London—on April 16 and 19, 1941—were over 1,000 deaths reported.

On June 10, 1943, after further raids, very full details of damage throughout the city were published in the *Daily Telegraph*. Its correspondent wrote: "As one of my informants put it with eloquent brevity, 'Berlin's West End looks more like a battlefield than a city'."

On August 23, a heavy raid occurred in which 1,700 tons of bombs were dropped in fifty minutes. On August 25, 26 and 27, paragraphs in the *Daily Telegraph* described the after-effects:

"From Leipzigerstrasse to the Chauseestrasse looks like No Man's Land," reported its Stockholm correspondent. One traveller said:

"I have lived many years in Berlin, yet at no time during that drive" (in a taxi through the city) "could I identify which street we were passing through. There were just ruins, shattered all, and fire wherever we passed. . . . From Friedrichstrasse, down Belle Alliance Platz, the whole of the Tempelhof district had been reduced to a wilderness."

According to reports from Berne, the first official Berlin police estimates of the casualties in this raid put the dead at 5,680.

Further heavy raids occurred on August 31 and on September 3, when 1,000 tons were dropped in twenty minutes. The *Daily Telegraph* of September 20, 1943, carried a long description of the consequences of these attacks, from which the following extracts are taken:

"A picture of Berlin as it is today is given by a Swiss eye-witness article in the *St. Gallen Tagblatt,* in which he states: 'The last air attack on Berlin inflicted, particularly in the West End of the city, colossal damage, and also in the inner city and at the southern end at Lankwitz and Lichterfelde. In these districts streets were hardly negotiable. . . . . .

" 'Efforts have been made to save people buried under the debris by tunnelling from the neighboring houses, but if this is too difficult nothing is undertaken as it is assumed the imprisoned people are dead owing to burst gas and water pipes.

" 'It was nerve-shattering to see women, demented after the raids, crying continuously for their lost children, or wandering speechless through the streets with dead babies in their arms.

" 'In the Alexanderplatz Station there was a fight among women struggling with one another for seats in a train, aboard which some of their children were, as the train showed signs of steaming off.

" 'Schools have been closed, and there is much disorganization in the evacuation of children and parents.' "

These devastating raids, however, were themselves mere curtain-raisers for the "grand attack" which began on November 18, when a force described by the *Daily Herald* as "the greatest number of four-engined bombers ever to raid Germany" dropped more than 2,000 tons of bombs on Berlin and Ludwigshafen. The evening papers next day carried the headline: "350 Blockbusters Flung on Berlin."

This onslaught was followed on November 22 and 23 by further huge raids which turned Berlin into "the most bombed city in the world." In the three raids together, 5,000 tons of incendiaries and high explosive were rained on the city. The *Daily Herald* of November 24 announced the second great raid under a big photograph of four grinning pilots, which struck the note of jubilation this time indulged in by the entire large-circulation press.

The *Daily Telegraph,* as usual, carried the most comprehensive details of the raids, and gave the fullest description of their meaning for the tormented civilian population. Describing the attack of November 22 as "very nearly the heaviest raid on any target in the history of air warfare," the newspaper continued: "Reports from neutral capitals last night made it clear that the havoc was on an unprecedented scale, particularly in the center of the city. . . . Thousands were reported killed and injured. . . . Unbroken heavy clouds lay along the whole route. . . . We bombed Berlin 'blind.' The bombers followed the brightly lit 'target indicators' . . . although the target area itself was not seen."

On November 25, after the third great raid, the same newspaper continued the story by quoting a Swedish business man, the first air passenger to arrive in Stockholm from Berlin after living through the onslaughts of November 22 and 23. He reported Berlin as being "ten times worse today than it was yesterday. The Berlin we know has simply ceased to exist." Ossian Goulding, the *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent at Stockholm, described the "red-rimmed eyes and white, lined face" of the speaker. Continuing to quote him, this correspondent wrote:

"The fire brigades and ARP personnel are powerless to cope with the situation. Day has been turned to night by the billowing clouds of evil-smelling smoke which fill the streets . . . *Unter den Linden* is a shambles today, there are long lines of burning buildings in it. . . The University State Library is still burning. . . .

"Blockbusters freed a number of wild animals from Berlin's zoo. Troops turned out with rifles and machine-guns to hunt leopards, elephants, bears, tigers and lions in the Tiergarten. . . Men who should know estimate that 85 percent of the suburb of Spandau has been wrecked. The situation there is so serious that it has been decided to evacuate the whole district. . . . I saw wretched creatures, trapped by flames, hurl themselves from fourth-floor windows to death. Asphalt in the streets is alight everywhere, while over all lies the stench of phosphorus bombs.

"I would describe the morale of the city as fatalistic, exhausted and grim, yet determined to stick it. I saw no panic and no demonstration of any kind, although I heard several persons become hysterical in the shelter where I took refuge during the actual raids.

"I cannot agree either that there has been any voluntary mass evacuation of the city. Certainly thousands of people have moved to the suburbs or to the country beyond, but more to find a roof over their heads than because they are actuated by fear. . . .

"As for myself, my only concern now is to sleep round the clock. I never knew a possible air attack could be like this; that it could affect nerves, digestion, eyesight, and everything in this way."

Another *Daily Telegraph* correspondent from "Somewhere in Europe," reported:

"The destruction . . . is almost impossible to describe. Whole streets are ablaze. The heat is so fierce that people are collapsing because of it. . . Tens of thousands of people are leaving the city. . . . Their faces are blackened with soot and smoke. Many of them have bandaged hands, signs that they were burned in frantic and useless efforts to put out the flames of the thousands of fires that raged last night and the night before. . . . In the burning areas people can be seen vainly trying to save what is left of their belongings. . . . The three raids coming on top of one another have stunned the people. Nazi propaganda that the people of Berlin cursed the RAF is wrong. Instead, after the raid, the people of Berlin could find little to say. They only picked up what they had managed to gather and moved silently on. . . .

"There are various figures of casualties. One says that 25,000 were killed on Monday night and the same number

on Tuesday night. The Swiss newspaper *Die Tat* states that between 20,000 and 30,000 bodies, victims of Monday night's raid, have already been recovered. . .

"The population is still so stunned that it is too early to gauge their reactions."

On November 26 the *Daily Telegraph* reported Sir Arthur Harris as saying that the bombing of Berlin would continue "until the heart of Nazi Germany ceases to beat." That night the third heavy raid of the week, and the fourth in eight days, was made on the German capital. The next day *The Observer's* Air Correspondent, Frederick Tomlinson, commented as follows:

"The scientists who have developed our newest bombs and our latest aircraft equipment have presented us with a terrible weapon, the logical purpose of which is not so much to destroy industrial buildings as isolated objectives but *to make industrial life* with its attendant war production *impossible in all the large cities of Germany.*

"Bomber Command is confident that if it is adequately supplied it can achieve its object, though it may require not the 13,000 tons (which have already been dropped on it) but 50,000 tons to destroy a target such as Berlin."

The German capital had a peacetime population of 4,332,000, being the world's fifth largest city; only New York, London, Tokyo, and Paris were larger. In area Berlin's 341 square miles compare closely to New York's 365. Berlin has been struck by over 100 air raids. According to General H. H. Arnold, Chief of the American Army Air Forces, three-fourths of the city has been razed.[14] The RAF's more conservative figures stated that up to December 16, their forces had demolished between 1,300 and 1,400 acres of buildings. The London bureau of the *Herald-Tribune* cabled:

"The estimates of damage, it was emphasized, count acres of buildings as just that. Streets, courtyards, squares or gardens are not included in the total estimate that at least 17 percent of Berlin's 8,000 acres of actual buildings have been either destroyed or so damaged as to render them useless. . . . No capital in the world has ever suffered such damage . . . it is expected at least one house in every four in Berlin will be found to have been rendered uninhabitable."[15]

In just three attacks of last November's raids, the city was "hit by two-thirds the weight of bombs dropped on London during the whole period from September 1940 to July 1941."[16] Commenting on the strategy of concentration bombing, Drew Middleton, from whom the foregoing quotation is taken, cabled:

"Concentrated bombing—that is, the dropping of the greatest tonnage in the shortest possible time—has another advantage besides the obvious one of saturating fire, air raid precaution services and anti-aircraft batteries. The simultaneous explosion of a great number of heavy bombs not only creates tremendous havoc near by but cracks the foundations of buildings far removed from the site of the blast."

Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the *New York Times,* who is not given to exaggeration, tells what a single big bomb can do. He writes:

"One very large British bomb is known to have devastated a built-up section of a German city as large as the Yankee Stadium. A 1,100-pound bomb will penetrate more than twenty-four feet of earth and will blast a crater almost fifty feet in diameter and eight feet deep."[17]

A European correspondent of the *New York Times* quoted (January 9, 1944) a young man who had left Berlin in the first week of January, just after an air attack.

"He saw people he knew coming out of shelters quite transformed—white hair, insane, indifferent, wandering about, running away, not knowing where to go.

"He saw others sitting in comfortable chairs in the middle of large streets as if waiting for some event. He saw animals in the Zoo being shot by the police as they were attacking the wounded. . . .

"More than 1,800,000 persons left town the first day, roaming about the country to seek shelter. Cold, lack of food and curiosity brought them back again three days later."

"Shattering Allied raids on Berlin," says the newspaper *PM* (February 2, 1944), "are estimated to have cut the city's population by death and evacuation from 5,000,000 to 3,000,000."

After this on the night of February 15, 1944 came what the *New York Times* described as the final and decisive phase of the battle of Berlin "when in the heaviest air assault of history nearly 1,000 British four-motored bombers dropped more than 2,800 American tons of bombs on the city. During a thirty-minute nightmare high explosives and incendiaries fell at the rate of more than eighty tons each minute."

3. *Cologne*

Cologne, a city of 750,000 inhabitants, was one of the most beautiful and historical towns in Germany. "The glory of Cologne," says *Nelson's Encyclopedia,* "is its Cathedral, one of the noblest and most impressive examples of Gothic architecture in existence. Its foundations were laid in 1248."

I have visited the city and its Cathedral on several occasions. In the narrow, crooked streets in the center of the historic area, there were many houses of the 15th and 16th centuries, and even earlier.

As the chief city of the Rhineland, Cologne has suffered repeated raids which have given it the equivalent of "17 Coventries." On May 30, 1942, it was selected for the first of Sir Arthur Harris's 1,000-ton "saturation raids." *The Times* of Jan. 1, 1943, reported a senior officer of the RAF as saying: "The City of London contained less than 120 acres of devastation. In Bomber Command's big raid on Cologne more than 600 acres were devastated."

During the summer of 1943, the RAF in three great raids destroyed more than 80 percent of the central city area and 75 percent of the other fully built-up districts on the west bank of the Rhine. According to the *Evening Standard* of June 30, German overseas radio said that in addition to damage to the Cathedral, the celebrated Roman Church of St. Cuthbert was also a victim of the bombs. It put the number of churches destroyed in Cologne at about thirty-five.

On August 5, the *Daily Telegraph* quoted a detailed report of the raid havoc, given to the Swiss newspaper *St. Gallen Tagblatt* by a Swiss citizen who had just returned from Cologne, where he had lived since 1936. The inner city, he said, was finally destroyed on the night of June 28, when, it was estimated, nearly 1,000 tons of bombs were dropped. The previous month a "complete job" had been made of the suburbs, when whole working-class areas were razed to the ground.

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[14] United Press dispatch, January 7, 1944.
[15] *New York Herald-Tribune,* January 11, 1944.
[16] *New York Times,* November 26, 1943.
[17] *New York Times,* November 18, 1943.

Speaking of the actual damage done during the raids, this witness said:

"Except for the cathedral and a few isolated houses, the old and inner city of Cologne has ceased to exist. Among buildings destroyed are the Town Hall, the Hansa Hall with its well-known Gothic facade, and the Wallraf Richarts Museum. . .

"Around the Cathedral, barely thirty yards off, all hotels and business premises have been burned to their foundations. The Savoy Hotel collapsed. From the big Buelheim suspension bridge I gazed on what ought to have been the panorama of Cologne. I saw only masses of thick smoke. As I rode towards the city I noticed that the trees along the Rhine were stripped of their foliage and covered with thick dust. I have always imagined that a prehistoric landscape without life must have been like this. The sight of human beings moving about in it gave me a cold shiver. I seemed to be on another planet.

"In Cologne itself people looked apathetic. They were too tired to talk. It was then only seven hours after the raid. . . In front of houses lay goods and chattels, and also people in a state of utter exhaustion.

"In the Glockengasse I came on a woman searching among a score of corpses for a relative. Further on in the city, in a big square, I saw bodies laid out in hundreds."

4. *Düsseldorf*

Once a bright, clean town with pleasant parks and friendly inhabitants, Düsseldorf was described by the *News-Chronicle* Air Correspondent after the heavy raid of June 12, 1943, as "a dead city. It was killed in a night." More than 380 acres of the town had, however, been already damaged by the end of 1942.

Thirty-six hours after the June raid, the *Sunday Times* commented: "Raids on the scale of Friday night's attack on *Düsseldorf* mean the virtual blotting-out of the city as far as ordinary residential life is concerned." On June 22, the *News-Chronicle* added: "According to the well-informed Catholic Swiss newspaper *Vaterland,* 400,000 of Düsseldorf's population of 600,000 are homeless. Twenty thousand people have been killed."

A neutral report by a Swiss correspondent in *Das Volksrecht* (Zurich) on October 2, 1943, ran as follows:

"Düsseldorf made the most frightful impression of all the western German cities. This once beautiful city is today a heap of ruins. The gaiety of its population has vanished. There are sad faces to be seen everywhere. The new railway station is completely destroyed. The station square with its great hotels and the main post office is covered with ruins. All the streets converging on the square show the same picture of destruction. The center, north and south of the city have suffered most. All the entertainment buildings have disappeared: the Municipal Theatre, the Concert House, the Jaegerhof Castle, the Apollo Theatre and all the great cinemas and department stores such as Tietz. The fashionable hotels such as Breitenbacher Hof, the Park Hotel and also the Hochhaus, are completely burned out. A high police officer told me that 2,500 people were killed during one night of heavy bombardment and that the Provincial Fire Insurance building still covers its victims. 18,000 dwelling houses have been destroyed in Düsseldorf and 350,000 people rendered homeless. These figures do not include the destruction in the (industrial) suburbs of Gerresheim and Benrath."

Even under these conditions, however, the city was not dead enough for Bomber Command. On November 5, 1943, an article by Wing Commander Charles Bray reported yet another "obliteration raid":

"RAF in great strength dropped over 2,000 tons of high explosive and incendiary bombs on Germany on Wednesday night. This brought the total weight of bombs dropped in the 24 hours to 4,000 tons, the greatest weight ever dropped in a day and night operation. Düsseldorf was the main target, and the raid was all over in 27 minutes. After the 2,000 ton raid on June 13, reconnaissance photographs showed that two-thirds of the central city had been destroyed. It has now been raided 58 times. Nineteen of our bombers were lost."

5. *Hamburg*

The destruction of Hamburg, between July 24 and August 2, 1943, like the later mass attacks on Berlin, may testify to our capacity to win the war, but it also provides irrefutable evidence of the moral and spiritual abyss into which we have descended.

In eight heavy raids during ten days and nights, a total of about 10,000 tons of high explosives and incendiaries was dropped on this city of 1,800,000 inhabitants, completely destroying nine square miles, or 77 percent of the built-up area (*Daily Telegraph,* Sept. 20, 1943). "Hardly anyone, it is alleged, escaped in the heavy populated area of many miles on which the Allies planted a carpet of hundreds of thousands of explosives and incendiaries. . . . At least 20,000 perished in shelters alone." (*Daily Mail,* Oct. 9, 1943). One RAF commentator admits (*Daily Telegraph,* Sept. 20, 1943) that "the greatest destruction from these raids has been to business and residential property, especially in the built-up area."

Photographs taken after these raids revealed that "of Hamburg's fully built-up 4,000 acres, 1,700 have been destroyed, while of 3,400 less densely built-up acres, 1,900 have also been completely shattered" (*Daily Telegraph,* August 6, 1943). An officer of the RAF who had been over Hamburg said:

"The term raid is no longer expressive enough for what is happening. From what I have seen in two of the six air attacks made within 72 hours the destruction is truly devastating. In comparison the enemy raids on London were child's play. What is going on at Hamburg can be repeated on any target we select. Hamburg is the first to be dealt with. . ." (*Daily Telegraph,* Aug. 29, 1943.)

Another RAF commentator, describing the raids as "the most striking bombing event in history," said: "To all intents and purposes a city of 1,800,000 inhabitants lies in absolute ruins. . . . It is probably the most complete blotting-out of a city that ever happened."

An eye-witness of the raids, writing in the Swiss newspaper, *National-Zeitung,* reported:

"We passed whole streets, squares, and even districts. . . that had been razed. Everywhere were charred corpses, and injured people had been left unattended. We will remember those Hamburg streets as long as we live. Charred adult corpses had shrunk to the size of children. Women were wandering about half-crazy. *That night, the largest workers' district of the city was wiped out.*"[19]

"A preliminary estimate of the killed in the eight heavy raids on Hamburg was more than 58,000." (AP message from Stockholm, *Daily Telegraph,* August 9, 1943). The official German estimate, as is the habit with all official estimates, which are provided for home as well as foreign consumption, put this figure much lower, though it admittedly left out the unidentifiable dead. Facts which I am about to record suggest that these must have reached appalling proportions in Hamburg. 18,000 people were also reported to have been drowned there when the Elbe Tunnel received a direct hit.[20]

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[19] Quoted in *Reynold's News,* Aug. 8, 1943. (Italics mine.)

[20] Reuter's message from Zurich, *Daily Telegraph,* Aug. 25, 1943.

A Danish consular official, interviewed by the Stockholm newspaper *Aftonbladet* after he had escaped from the blitzed city, said:

"Hamburg has ceased to exist. I can only tell what I saw with my own eyes—district after district razed to the ground. When you drive through Hamburg you drive through corpses. They are all over the streets, and even in tree-tops."

Swedish seamen who arrived in Malmoe alleged that not more than fifty houses remain standing in the whole of Hamburg. "On Saturday," they said, "the destruction was so complete that not even the sirens were working."[21]

Exaggerated as the first part of this statement appears to be, a paragraph in the *Evening Standard* of November 29, 1943, reported that "it is now possible to drive for half an hour through the center of Hamburg without passing a single house." According to this information, which reached Reuters from Stockholm, "a large part of the town was said to have been so competely devastated that 'there is no point in clearing it.' "

Other Swedish refugees described the terrible character of our phosphorus incendiary bombs:

"They talked of the strange sensation of seeing gardens on fire in a city ravaged by flames. Hundreds of people were found burned to death in the streets and the clothing was scorched off many by the fires. About 47,000 dead bodies were counted before search work began, and estimates of people killed vary from 65,000 to 200,000. . . .

"The town is almost deserted. For a fortnight the fires have raged unchecked and the people are almost poisoned by the smoke and the ghastly smell that hangs over the empty streets, where the walls are still radiating heat.

"Some of the refugees, who were wearing strange evacuee clothes like beach pajamas, described the city as 'sheer hell.' Panic often broke out in large seven to eight-story shelters, which held 3,000 to 6,000 people, during the terrific explosions."[22]

A stoker who deserted from a German ship corroborated these facts in an interview with the Stockholm correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*. "People," he said, "went mad in the shelters. They screamed and threw themselves, biting and clawing the doors which were locked against them by the wardens. . . ."[23]

Other reports stated that owing to the great heat of the fires, people died from suffocation in shelters, and on September 20 this was confirmed in the following (translated) article by the editor of the *Baseler Nachrichten* (Basle News).[24]

This article describes how, as the result of a physical phenomenon produced by a mass fire during one of the Hamburg raids, many more persons perished in a few hours than the total of air raid victims in London since the beginning of the war:

"During the bombing of Hamburg there was a catastrophe in one densely populated part of the town of several square kilometres which eclipsed all previous happenings of the bombing war. It occurred as a result of the area being covered with mines, high-explosives and phosphorus bombs and hundreds of thousands of ordinary incendiaries.

"It must be emphasized that the effect was one which can only be achieved when bombing densely populated residential districts, but not when bombing factory districts. Every physicist of the air war could have calculated this effect in advance if the number of high explosive and incendiary bombs to be dropped on a given area were known to him. It is a question of the well-known fact that every open fire sucks in the oxygen it needs from the surrounding atmosphere, and that large fires, unless there is a strong wind, will lead to the creation of so-called air chimneys up which the flames will rush with ever-increasing force. If the area of the fire covers several square kilometres, then the flames licking out of individual rows and blocks of houses will combine into one big blanket of fire, covering the entire area and rushing up to ever greater heights. According to English reports, the Hamburg fire reached a height of six kilometres, that is, up to that height the heat rose in one compact body.

"Under these conditions the following occurs: within the area of the fire a rush of air is created, reaching the strength of a typhoon. The effect is that of enormous bellows pumping air into this district from all directions; for the sea of flames sucks in air from its surroundings. In this, the streets serve as channels through which the air passes toward the center and at the same time the air rushing through the streets sucks the flames from the burning houses horizontally into the streets. Thus, human beings and flames will compete for the available oxygen and, naturally, a fire of this size will get the better of it. The flames suck the last remains of oxygen from all rooms, shelters and cellars, and at the same time devour all the oxygen in the streets.

"The immediate result in the cellars is a shortage of oxygen and breathing difficulties for the people present. At the same time the temperature in the shelters rises unbearably, but the people are prevented from leaving the shelters during the early stages of the bombing by the constant rain of high explosive, incendiary and phosphorus bombs, which release a fine shower consisting of a mixture of rubber and phosphorus. Experience has shown that when the people finally make up their minds to leave the cellars it is too late. They have no strength left to carry out their decision, and even if they have they lack the strength to resist the heat and the lack of oxygen in the street. It is easy to see that men, with their greater power of resistance and stouter clothing, are better able to resist such a method of attack than women and children. That is why the majority of the victims are women and children. Numerous completely charred bodies of women and children were found along the outer walls to the houses; women and children in light summer clothing who emerged from the cellars into the storm of fire in the street were soon converted into burning torches.

"Naturally, hundreds and thousands of men too lost their lives in the streets of this district. Hamburg experts who are in charge of the salvaging of bodies have stated that only a minute percentage of the population residing there can have escaped with its life under the conditions prevailing during the attack. The whirlwind surrounded the entire district with a fiery wall and only those were able to save themselves who escaped at the very beginning. Even medium sized squares and wide streets offer no protection.

"The condition of the cellar shelters, which have meanwhile been opened, give some indication of the temparature which must have prevailed in the streets. The people who remained in these rooms were not only suffocated and charred but reduced to ashes. In other words, these rooms which, without exception, became death-chambers for dozens and hundreds of people, must have reached a temperature such as is not reached in the burning chambers of a crematorium. One doctor who supervised the salvage of the bodies remarked that the incineration of the bones had in many cases been more complete in the cellars than it is in the normal process of cremation. Obviously, it is impossible to identify the bodies, as all the belongings of the people have also been reduced to ashes.

"The 20,000 bodies salvaged so far in Hamburg come mainly from this district. Even today, the work of salvaging is still extremely difficult because the temperature in the cellars a fortnight after the fire is still such that any introduction of oxygen makes the fire flare up again.

"The many reports of survivors of burning women and children, and of women throwing their children into canals, are, therefore, not invented. How great was the tempera-

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21 *Sunday Express*, Aug. 8, 1943.
22 *London Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 14, 1943.
23 *London Daily Telegraph*, Aug. 25, 1943.
24 September 9, 1943.

ture prevailing in these streets is further proved by the fact that the glass in the windows and metal frames were reduced to ash and cinders.

"As we have said, all this occurred in a strictly defined district of some kilometres square. Obviously, effects like those described can only be achieved in densely populated residential districts with high houses and relatively narrow streets. The streets, however, need not be very narrow, for roughly fifty women and children were found suffocated, half charred, and with all their clothing torn from their bodies by the storm, on a playing field which was situated at the centre of a street crossing. It appears, therefore, that the air war in this form can indeed turn entire districts of a large city, and, above all, the residential quarter of workers and employees, into a fiery grave which no one can escape who has not the courage to flee in the early stages through the rain of phosphorus, high explosive and incendiary bombs."

6. *Mainz*

Mainz, in the grand-duchy of Hesse, was one of the most important commercial centers on the Rhine. It was also a city of unusual historic interest, having been founded, as "Maguntiacum," in 13 B.C. Its importance dated from 747, when it was made an Archbishopric. The picturesque Cathedral in the Marktplaz dated in its more recent form from the 12th to the 14th centuries, with later restorations.

In an RAF raid carried out in August, 1942, this Cathedral, and many other cultural monuments, were burnt to the ground. According to the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* the Bishop's Palace was also seriously damaged, and five churches were obliterated.[25]

During November, 1942, a visitor to the Exhibition at Messrs. Rootes, in Piccadilly, of photographic enlargements showing the devastation caused by air raids on German and other continental cities, was given the following description of Mainz by an RAF official guide:

"The whole core of the city is destroyed. The total area of devastation within the city equals approximately 135 acres.

"This is the heart of Mainz, the largest area of concentrated devastation in any German city. Fifty-five acres in the city center have been devastated. Ruined civic buildings include museums, churches, schools. There is hardly a house habitable or a building useful in the center of the city. Shops, offices, art galleries are destroyed. Here a 4,000-pound bomb has fallen; what was a built-up area is now an empty space."

7. *Münster*

The old town of Münster, the capital of Westphalia, contained a beautiful Romanesque Cathedral and many other architectural treasures. Of this city, a foreign observer was quoted as saying:

"I have not seen Lübeck or Rostock, but I did see Münster some days after you had bombed it several times. There was hardly a whole building standing in the middle of the town. House after house was an empty shell of blackened walls. Street after street was a mere avenue between heaps of rubble.

"Münster was, in fact, a sort of Guernica on a larger scale—a terrifying demonstration of what persistent mass bombing could do in a limited area. Increase the scale, and you will get the same result in wider areas. There is a limit to what people can stand, and, as I say, that limit can be coldly calculated and achieved."[26]

On January 1, 1943, the *Times* reported that 260 acres of this small city had been devastated. More recently, on October 13, 1943, recording that "Münster has frequently been bombed," and that "the territory of the Reich is being battered and laid waste as never before in the history of modern warfare," Noel Panter, Zurich correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph,* quoted a German spokesman's description of a British and American raid on Sunday, October 10:

"The attack took place while worshippers filled the churches, and that is one reason for the high casualties. As Münster has no industries worth mentioning, the town and the immediate vicinity were not strongly protected."

Noel Panter goes on to comment that "whatever industries Münster may or may not possess nowadays, the correspondent carefully conceals the fact that it is a big Army supply and administrative center and an important communications center."

Having previously remarked on the "quite unusual sense of reverence" with which German spokesmen now describe Münster as an "episcopal city," he adds:

"As for the contention that the raid was of an especially ignoble kind because the churches were filled, *even Goebbels could hardly be able to persuade the German people that the British and American Air Forces can be expected to consider the times of church services in enemy countries.*"

The italics are mine. According to this argument, it was entirely reasonable of the *Luftwaffe* to bomb to death a number of children attending Sunday school at a church in Torquay!

The description of Münster as "an episcopal city" is not incorrect, as a Saxon bishopric was founded there by Charlemagne in 805. Since the war, the anti-Nazi pronouncements of its courageous Bishop, Count von Gafen, have become well-known to those who follow events in Germany. The town possessed numerous medieval buildings, including the Gothic Church of St. Lambert (14th Century), and a university founded about 1771. In its Town Hall, built in 1335, the Treaty of Westphalia, which concluded the Thirty Years' War, was signed on October 24, 1648. Of this war, James Harvey Robinson wrote in *The History of Western Europe,* a standard school textbook first published in 1902:

"The accounts of the misery and depopulation of Germany caused by the Thirty Years' War are well-nigh incredible. Thousands of villages were wiped out altogether; in some regions the population was reduced by one half, in others to a third, or even less, of what it had been at the opening of the conflict. The flourishing city of Augsburg was left with but sixteen thousand souls instead of eighty thousand. The people were fearfully barbarized by privation and suffering and by the atrocities of the soldiers of all the various nations. Until the end of the 18th century" (i.e. 150 years) "Germany was too exhausted and impoverished to make any considerable contribution to the culture of Europe."

The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, however, boasts that the territory of the Reich is being laid waste as never before in the history of modern warfare; in other words, that the "atrocities" of its enemies exceed even those of the Thirty Years' War. Inevitably, therefore, the after-effects, in terms of privation and barbarism, will be still graver and more prolonged. Is this a prospect to which even the least thoughtful among the British and American peoples look forward with enthusiasm?

8. *Nuremberg*

Within recent years, Nuremberg has acquired an unenviable notoriety as the scene of Nazi rallies. It had, however, many centuries of history to its credit before the

25 The *London Times,* Aug. 17, 1943.

26 *London News-Chronicle,* May 17, 1942.

Nazis were ever heard of, having been made a Free City in 1219. Less insensate ages than our own are likely to regard as catastrophic the fact that the choice of Nuremberg as a Nazi meeting-place was used by Bomber Command as an excuse for destroying the heritage of those centuries.

Nelson's Encyclopedia records of Nuremberg:

"It still retains its ancient walls and moat, and is one of the richest towns on the Continent in medieval buildings and works of art. Albrecht Dürer, Veit Stoss, Peter Vischer and Adam Kraft lived and worked here. . . The churches are full of priceless paintings, statuary and carvings. The Castle, dating from 1050, was enlarged by Frederick I (Barbarossa), and has served as a residence for many German Emperors. Of famous collections the Germanic museum is the most valuable, and a remarkable library, dating from 1445, is preserved in the old Dominican Monastery. Its picture gallery contains masterpieces by Holbein, Dürer and others."

Of this historic city—as priceless to Germans and all students of German culture as Oxford to ourselves—it is recorded[27] that 106 acres had been devastated by the end of 1942. Moreover Nuremberg, in addition to its irreplaceable treasures, had other characteristics of medieval cities, such as narrow streets and ancient ramshackle dwelling houses closely crowded together. In his famous *Berlin Diary,* William Shirer, describing a Nazi rally which he was sent to report, writes of "the narrow streets that once saw Hans Sachs and the Meistersingers . . . the Gothic beauties of the place, the façades of the old houses, the gabled roofs . . . the streets hardly wider than alleys . . . the beautiful old Rathaus."

On these narrow streets and crowded inflammable houses, the RAF dropped 1,500 tons of bombs on August 10, 1943, and another 1,500 tons on August 27. Forty-nine bombers were lost in these two raids. The German official figures —almost certainly an understatement—gave the number of the dead as 3,947. On August 29, 1943, the *Sunday Express* recorded:

"Few towns, even in Germany, can ever have received so shattering a blow in forty minutes as medieval Nuremberg, the Bavarian 'holy city' of the Nazi Party, which was the target of the vast armada of bombers that roared for more than an hour over Southeast England late on Friday.

"The result was summed up in one pregnant sentence by a rear gunner on his return. He said: 'I reckon we knocked the whole place flat.' "

Under the heading, "We've Finished the Job Properly," the "story of this great raid as told to the *Sunday Express* by the men who made it" is given by Edward J. Hart, *Express* air reporter:

"Nuremberg, center of some of Germany's most vital war industries, was a seething bonfire when our very strong force of four-engined bombers left the scene. Crews returning at dawn brought glowing descriptions of the effects of their heavy bombs and incendiaries.

"A solid red core of leaping flames, with columns of jet black smoke billowing up to 15,000 feet and visible 150 miles away, was the word picture painted for me by Flight-Sergeant John Crabb, of Glasgow, navigator of 'S for Sugar,' making his twenty-second raid on Germany.

" 'I never imagined a town could burn like that,' declared the rear gunner of 'A for Apple,' Sergeant Harry Smith, a Cardiff man, on his 37th raid."

In *Das Volksrecht,* Zurich, a Swiss correspondent reported on October 2, 1943: "The whole of Nuremberg is one great ruin, whereas the Siemens-Schuckert works, which were probably the object of the bombardment, received no damage."

9. *Three Prussian Towns (Anklam, Marienbad, Remscheid)*

Three first-hand reports describe the effect of obliteration raids upon small towns where the area, the population, and hence the capacity for defense, is limited, and the power of recovery almost nil. The first two accounts were given to the *News-Chronicle*[28] by repatriated British prisoners of war.

"With the wounded party came a group of RAF men, some of whom had been imprisoned more than 3½ years. These men had flown Whitneys, Fairey Battles, and other planes whose names are almost forgotten.

"These and other pilots passed through Anklam on their way to the port from which they were to be repatriated. Flt. Lt. Howard, a New Zealander, a fighter pilot, told me: 'We were absolutely staggered at the sight. It seemed as if the whole place, works and everything, had been knocked absolutely flat. It was as though it had been smashed over and over again. There was just nothing left.' "

Sergeant Roberts, RAMC, carried on the story:

"We embarked on the train and passed through Marienbad on the way back. It was flat, dead flat; everything the American bombers had set out to smash they had smashed irremediably.

"One of the things that struck me as I looked at the German women we saw on stations was their yellowness. They were yellow with undernourishment. Children were the same."

A description of a raid on Remscheid, with a population of 107,000, appeared in the *Sunday Express*:[29]

"Remscheid, medieval Rhineland city and center of Germany's machine tool industry, had its first and probably last RAF raid. . . A navigator said that the outline of the blazing mass below exactly corresponded with the contour of his target map. . . Remscheid measures 1½ miles from east to west, and 3½ miles north to south."

The night attack of July 30-31 on Remscheid was further described by Group Captain Hugh Edwards.[30] The attack, he said, was over in twenty minutes, and

". . . . photographic reconnaisance two days after did not show the town—for the simple reason that the town had ceased to exist. . . The real damage on a big scale is caused when the fires become uncontrollable. . . The aircraft attack . . . is one continuous concentration in order to saturate the defenses. . . Crews have no time to dwell on the terrible nature of the attack being carried out down below; they are intent on carrying out their mission and preserving themselves."

Doubtless these crews do not dwell today on the ghastly cost of that self-preservation to helpless civilians. Doubtless they do not picture the frantic children pinned beneath the burning wreckage, screaming to their trapped mothers for help as those "uncontrollable fires" come nearer. But what will be the effect of their deeds upon the more sensitive of these young flyers when in future years they come to know what "the terrible nature of the attack" really meant, and have time to think about it? They may, perhaps, be forgiven by some of their surviving victims, but will they ever forgive themselves? What aftermath of nightmare and breakdown will come? Has any

[27] The *London Times,* January 1, 1943.

[28] October 26, 1943.

[29] August 1, 1943.

[30] *London Daily Mail,* October 13, 1943.

nation the right to make its young men the instruments of such a policy? These are the questions that we ought to be asking ourselves today. Thousands of mothers of young airmen must already be asking them in their hearts.

10. The Ruhr and Vicinity

The Ruhr Valley first became famous in recent history when the French occupied it in 1923-4 in an attempt to enforce the astronomical reparations payments demanded from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles. I myself spent some time in visiting this area in 1924 when the French occupation was still in force.

The towns of the Ruhr and neighboring districts—the industrial heart of northwest Germany, covering a total area of approximately the same size as Greater London—have suffered more from our repeated mass raids than any other section of Germany. Newspaper descriptions of these attacks have made the names of the "targets" familiar: Essen, Duisburg, Krefeld, Dortmund, Bochum, Wuppertal, Hagen, and many others.

On July 27, 1943, Essen, the home of Krupps' great factory, was described by Ronald Walker, the *News-Chronicle* Air Correspondent, as the "most bombed city." At this date the destruction of Hamburg was not yet complete, nor had the "annihilation attacks" on Berlin yet begun. Essen was the second city, after Cologne, to receive one of Bomber Command's new 1,000-bomber "saturation raids" during the early summer of 1942.

A German letter, quoted in *The Listener* (May 13, 1943), described a heavy RAF raid on Essen on March 5:

"It was an inferno; bomb followed bomb; streams of phosphorus flowed from above and incendiary bombs fell without interruption. It is a miracle we are still alive. Our district is completely in ruins, and only western parts of Essen remain standing. We are all completely worn out."

On July 3, 1943, the *News-Chronicle* stated that 100,000 people in Essen had no roof over their heads. Not content with this measure of suffering and desolation in an armament-making city, Bomber Command delivered another 2,000 tons of bombs in fifty minutes on July 25.

"By the end of that time smoke from a mass of fires was rising to over 20,000 feet. . . . Three times previously 1,000-ton attacks had been made on the city, and by the night of May 7-8 the total tonnage of bombs unloaded on to the five square miles of Essen topped 10,000 tons. . . . Early last month stories coming out of Germany spoke of Essen as a dead city." (*News-Chronicle,* July 27.)

According to the *News-Chronicle,* "more than 1,000 acres of the industrial town of Wuppertal were devastated in Bomber Command's attack on the night of May 29. . . . One thousand acres of devastation in a town of 200,000 inhabitants means that to all intents and purposes that town has disappeared."

The *Daily Mail* added on July 5, 1943:

"First the RAF took Barmen, the eastern half of the city, (i.e. Wuppertal) and 'almost wiped it out.' Less than a month later, Elberfeld, the western half, had its turn."

Further grim details of these raids were given by a Swiss correspondent in *Das Volksrecht* (October 2, 1943):

"According to the police officer, frightful scenes occurred in Wuppertal as the city is situated in a valley and possessed narrow streets which made any flight impossible. Numerous victims ran round aimlessly like burning torches until they died. 18,000 people were killed by the bombardment."

In May, 1943, came the breaking by bombs of the Eder and Mohne dams. No attempt appears to have been made to warn the helpless populations of the flooded valleys, with the result, as recorded in the *Sunday Express* for May 30, "Reuter's special correspondent in Stockholm cabled last night that according to good authority the number of casualties in the Eder and Mohne dams bombings is 70,000."

Before this the *News-Chronicle* had commented on May 19:

"Westphalia has already been bombed on a scale unknown outside Germany. Not even at the height of the blitz against Britain has the misery of our people compared with that of the Ruhr. Now comes a new terror—the devastation of scores of thousands of homes by flood."

The *National News-Letter* for June 24 added further details:

"The explosion of the Mohne dam was catastrophic. It started with a sharp tone which suddenly changed into the rushing and roaring of water which swept everything along with it through the Ruhr districts and hills. Many old historical parts of Soest were simply swept away. The water found its way into mines, and hundreds of workers were surprised by the water during the night shift. Many of them were drowned as the way out was completely blocked by the water. . . . There was no drinking water available in many areas."

Wing Commander Guy Gibson, who carried out the bombing of the Mohne dam, described what he saw at the critical moment when the dam gave way:

"A great column of whiteness rose up a thousand feet into the air and the dam wall collapsed. I looked again at the dam and at the water. It was a sight such as no man will ever see again. Down in the valley we saw cars speeding along the roads in front of this great wave of water which was chasing them and going faster than they could ever hope to go. I saw their headlights burning and I saw the water overtake them one by one, and then the color of the headlights underneath the water changed from light blue to green, from green to dark purple, until quietly and rather quickly there was no longer anything except the water.

"The floods raced on, carrying with them as they went viaducts, railways, bridges, and everything that stood in their path.

"Then I felt a little remote and unreal sitting up there in the warm cockpit of my Lancaster, watching this mighty power which we had unleashed; and then I felt glad because I knew that this was the heart of Germany and the heart of her industries, the place which itself had unleashed so much misery upon the whole world."[31]

What the Wing Commander did not see, and apparently had not the imagination to realize, was the woe and obliteration that he loosed upon thousands of sleeping families, each home a shelter, up to that minute, of life made in the image of God.

Summary of the Ruhr Damage

On June 6, 1943, the *News-Chronicle* quoted a Berlin broadcast by a German war reporter describing raided areas in the west and northwest of the Reich:

"In these areas war gripped the civilian closer than it gripped some soldiers in the front line, and soldiers from the east front passing through stood silent at the train windows bowing before the sacrifice."

"An account of what the Ruhr looks like . . . received by industrialists in France and transmitted to Madrid," was reported in the *Daily Telegraph* on August 6, 1943:

[31] *Atlantic Monthly,* December, 1943.

"The damage is unbelievable. The Ruhr Valley is only one endless line of debris covered with twisted steel and the smoke from still burning oil. It is estimated that 250,000 Ruhr workers have suffered from forms of shell-shock as a result of the RAF bombing."

The Spectator added on September 17:

"Photographs of the blitzed cities, when examined through the red and blue glasses which throw up the picture in three dimensions, show a devastation almost incredible in its extent and completeness."

Still more recent and graphic details were given by the Swiss correspondent who described the scenes at Wuppertal:

"Over 70 percent of the big western towns have been destroyed. A comparison with the French territories destroyed during the First World War is impossible; destruction in western Germany today is already many times greater than that of the last war in France.

"It is characteristic that the destruction is greatest in the center of the cities, whereas certain industrial establishments which the British reported as destroyed showed, as I witnessed myself repeatedly, no damage whatever. . . . The cities which our train passed presented a frightful sight. Dortmund, Gelsenkirchen, Oberhausen and Duisberg are great heaps of rubble from which ghostly mineshafts protrude. The heaps of ruins are sometimes so enormous that one often wonders whither they must ultimately be transported."

Perhaps some economist with the foresight of John Maynard Keynes can calculate the material consequences for Europe of this wholesale blotting-out of Germany's heavy industries and the cities that housed them. Among those who possess imagination, the psychological consequences by which the future of international relations will be determined are already beyond question.

The Consequences of Obliteration Bombing

What are the effects of our policy of mass-bombing upon ourselves? What are they likely to be for Germany, with its civilian casualties already amounting to over a million, and the devastation of its ruined cities far exceeding the damage done to the battle areas of France between 1914 and 1919?

The results for ourselves may be twofold, the one at present speculative, the other certain. Physically, we may suffer costly reprisals in the near future, even though they may come in the form of a desperate blow struck by a beaten enemy in the final agony of the struggle. Morally, we are already involved in a process of deterioration which displays itself in a loss of sensitivity, and in words and actions showing callous indifference to suffering.

At a Berlin reception reported in *The Times* on September 28, 1943, Herr von Ribbentrop said:

"The future will show whether Churchill's bomb warfare against the civilian population is a good or bad idea. Every single bomb, every destroyed home, every dead person makes the German people more determined to make the British pay."

On October 13, 1943, after eighteen months of severe obliteration bombing, Noel Panter admitted in the *Daily Telegraph:* "Throughout Germany, there is public clamor for reprisal raids on Britain." A fortnight later, *The Times* of October 25 reported Lord Trenchard as saying in an address to Flying Fortress crews: "The Hun is standing up to it better than a great many people expected, but he will go in time; he always has."

We may well ask exactly what Lord Trenchard's idea of "in time" signifies in terms of agony for German children and their parents.

On November 15, 1943, the *Evening News* reported a "Hate Britain" meeting at Mannheim.

"More than 30,000 people, carrying spades and axes, attended a meeting addressed by Ley, German Labor Front chief, at Mannheim before starting to clear away debris from Allied raids, said the German radio today. Paris radio says that the meeting was called 'to display hatred for Great Britain and to protest against the savage bombing of German towns.' "

In a BBC talk on June 30, 1943, Ellen Wilkinson said: "The enemy must, in view of our terrible raids, either hit back at us, or admit his own weakness." One of our own Ministers of "Home Security" thereby admits that retaliation for our raids may mean a heavy loss of life amongst British people in that process of "shortening the war" by experimental bombing which is favored by the Archbishop of York and others. (The former Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester have spoken against the policy in Parliament.)

The adoption of the enemy's standards which we earlier deplored is only one sympton of the moral deterioration, and the corruption of youth, of which this summary contains so many examples, brought about by two years' practice of intensifying cruelty. The Pope, speaking to nineteen Cardinals on his birthday in June, 1943, truly stated:

"The progressive use of means of war which make no distinction between military objectives and non-military targets, and the increasing violence of the technique of war, draw attention to the sad and inexorable race between actions and reprisals, which happens to the detriment, not of certain particular peoples, but of the whole community of nations."[32]

Another observation which shows the tie-in of mass bombing to the totalitarian pattern, came from the Continent last September in a letter from Visser t' Hooft, Secretary of the World Council of Churches. It was published in *Christianity and Crisis,* December 13, 1943. In the midst of the letter Visser t' Hooft says:

"The full effects of totalitarianism have only now come to make themselves felt, since total warfare creates a situation in which the whole process of destruction and uprooting is accelerated in an extraordinary degree. Total war means that the outward conditions of life become such that most of the last remaining strongholds of free, healthy life, which exist in their own right and not merely as a product of the will of the state, are also destroyed. Totalitarianism had already made an onslaught on the family, but it is only through the process of mass-mobilization for the army and labor front, through evacuation and deportation that the menace to family-life becomes truly mortal. Similarly, through the merciless liquidation for the sake of the total war-effort of all professions, in which men retain a certain amount of autonomy, practically all classes become proletarian.

"It must be added that the wholesale bombardments which involve the complete blotting out of whole cities have the same effect. Men and women who had still a home and a job to defend, have suddenly become people who have nothing to lose and are thus thrown into the mass of uprooted creatures who are merely the passive playthings of forces which they do not comprehend. At the same time these bombardments create the impression that the whole world has gone totalitarian. It is believed that no country

[32] *News-Chronicle,* June 3, 1943.

recognizes any longer the limits of consideration for human life and of moral standards. It seems that there is nothing left except the war of all against all."

And to what ultimate end? Will nothing make real to us the abomination of utter desolation which Bomber Command is preparing for post-war Europe? The *National News-Letter* of July 5, 1943, warned its readers: "When the clouds of war have passed there will be terrible devastation in Germany—both physical and moral." *The Spectator* added on July 30, 1943:

"We shall not know until we occupy Germany just how much damage our raids have done; for while our photographs told the truth, it is always less than the truth, and what we have repeatedly found when we occupied enemy sites in Africa and Sicily justifies our assuming that the understatement is considerable."

It is hardly surprising that Mr. John Masefield, the Poet Laureate, warned his hearers in a speech at the annual luncheon of the National Book Council on October 26, 1943: "Europe totters on the brink of a dark time which may conceivably be the darkest time the world has ever known."

American Postscript

By JOHN NEVIN SAYRE

Various measures have been suggested for alleviating the horror and cruelty of massacre by bombing. Although none of them can be thoroughly satisfactory to pacifists, who from their standpoint must abjure the whole war method, yet as in the case of the blockade, pacifists may without abatement of opposition to war support plans designed to lessen war's damage to children and civilians. We have supported the limited feeding operations allowed in Greece, the relief work formerly permitted to the Quakers in France, the proposals of Mr. Hoover's Committee to extend such work to the little countries of Europe, the Taft-Gillette Bill, etc. Today, in the matter of bombing we call attention to a number of proposals which appear to have merit.

Among them are agreements to refrain from bombing "open towns." President Roosevelt on September 1, 1939 addressed an "urgent appeal to every government which may be engaged in hostilities publicly to affirm its determination that its armed forces shall in no event, and under no circumstances, undertake the bombardment from the air of civilian populations or of unfortified cities, upon the understanding that these same rules of warfare will be scrupulously observed by all of their opponents." Again on September 18, and on December 1, he reiterated this appeal. On May 1, 1940 he said to the American Red Cross:

"The bombing of helpless and unprotected civilians is a tragedy which has aroused the horror of all mankind. I recall with pride that the United States consistently has taken the lead in urging that this inhuman practice be prohibited. I am glad that the International Red Cross, at its meeting in London in 1938, urged that joint steps be taken by the governments to prevent such outrages in the future."

Holding to this line, the United States a few weeks after Pearl Harbor withdrew General MacArthur and our High Commissioner of the Philippines from Manilla, asking the Japanese to regard it as an undefended city and refrain from its bombardment—an appeal which in the main they respected. Before that, the Nazis in 1940 had treated Paris as an open city, respecting the declaration of the French Government about it, although at that time they were masters of the air in that region. But today, when we have preponderant air power, shall we forget this? As the *News-Chronicle* said in a statement on August 10, 1943, "Do we wish to acknowledge our inability to reach even their standards?"

A variant proposal to "open towns" is that of the *Bombing Restriction Committee* in Great Britain for "sanctuary areas." The gist of it is given in the following memorandum:

"Humanitarian considerations demand the recognition by the belligerents of sanctuary areas to which women and aged people could be evacuated from all towns having any kind of military objective *in advance of bombing*. In such sanctuary areas non-combatants could live free from the oppression of fear—fear for their own lives and for the safety and well-being of their children. Such sanctuary areas would be especially beneficial to invalids and people of highly nervous temperament who suffer agonies of apprehension if they have not the financial means to travel a long distance to get away from the threatened area.

"The sanctuary areas should be located, if possible, within 100 to 150 kilometres of the Ruhr and of the great industrial cities in other parts. It would be an advantage to include towns which have no military establishments or munition works and are situated on unimportant railway lines which do not carry military traffic; such towns, for instance, as Bonn, Homburg, Baden, Heidelberg, and other university towns and health resorts. In Italy there would be no difficulty in finding non-industrial towns to act as the centers of sanctuary areas.

"To assure the complete absence of military preparations and personnel from the sanctuary areas a corps of observers composed of the nationals of neutral countries could be formed. It could be placed under the control of the International Red Cross, or of a neutral commission on which the Vatican would be represented. The Spanish Civil War provides an example of a corps of neutral observers, working on the whole satisfactorily."

Details are added giving suggestions by which such sanctuary areas could be made recognizable from the air.

Of course objections can be raised to proposals like the above, but one suspects that the basic difficulty, at present, lies in the depth of spiritual demoralization to which our nations have sunk and that our responsible leaders could devise some amelioration of the devastating effect of bombing on children and civilians, had they the will to do so.

This situation is pregnant with further horror in the temptation, perhaps to Germany and certainly to the United States in the Pacific, to go in for poison gas operations. That we are near the edge of such a development is suggested by several articles appearing recently in the press, which may be trial balloons. *Newsweek* on December 20, carried an article by Ernest K. Lindley, well known Washington columnist entitled, "Thoughts on the Use of Gas in Warfare." The article opens with these ominous paragraphs:

"A week ago Admiral Pratt wrote on the lessons of Tarawa. To his conclusions this lay reporter feels impelled,

after extensive inquiry, to add one assertion: that the use of gas would have enabled us to capture Tarawa almost without a casualty.

"If the tons of bombs dropped on Tarawa from the air had been heavy gas, of the mustard type, the island would have been so thoroughly drenched that in all probability not a defender would have survived. After four or five days, giving time for the gas to evaporate, the Marines could have walked ashore without opposition. In the end, every Jap on Tarawa was killed or committed suicide anyway, except a handful of laborers and a few soldiers captured while unconscious from wounds. But the victory cost us, in dead and wounded, several thousand of our most valiant youth.

"In a drive across the Central Pacific, the use of gas would expedite our progress and diminish our casualties. Any small area that can be segregated is ideal for the use of gas. The small islands of the Pacific fit the prescription. We have the transportation capacity, in planes—supplemented if necessary by naval bombardment—to smother most of these island outposts of Japan with gas."

The *Montreal Daily Star* on December 23 printed a Washington dispatch in one paragraph of which Major General William N. Porter, chief of the chemical warfare service was quoted as saying:

"If we get a good hard smack from an enemy employing gas, we may change our minds about using it and gain tremendous advantage by employing our resources for waging chemical warfare. If gas warfare started, we believe we would be able to spring a big surprise."

Although the article reports President Roosevelt as determined not to resort to gas unless the Japanese or Germans use it first, it often happens in war, riots, etc., that a mistake is made in believing that the other side has started something diabolical when in fact this is not the case, but an accident, or other untoward circumstance, has lighted the fuse of fear and suspicion which set reprisals and counter-reprisals going. Or it might not be difficult, in a pinch, to arrange some kind of a "frame up" which made it appear that the enemy had employed poison gas against us. Even this might not be necessary in view of the outburst of hatred which broke loose after the War Department's release of the story of Japanese mistreatment of captured American soldiers. "Poison gas," it could be said, "is a justifiable measure of retribution." And public opinion might be further brought around by propaganda to the effect that anyway most Japs kill themselves rather than submit to capture so if we destroy them suddenly with poison gas, it will mercifully shorten the time of their dying and save innumerable lives of our own soldiers. We might experiment by smothering with gas an "island outpost," but once started down this road what moral scruples would stop us from trying to smother Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe, or any other cities that we picked as targets?

Are the churches and the Christian conscience so much in pawn to military strategy that they will surrender *everything* to the latter? Churchill told Parliament, "There are . . . no lengths in violence to which we will not go."[33] Christ said, "Except ye repent ye shall all likewise perish." Which leader today will the churches follow?

While this essay has dealt, in the main, with only one phase of modern warfare, we do not for a moment consider that a Christian conscience which is alive can be appeased by the establishment of "open towns" and areas of refuge, by the prohibition of poison gas, or by other "humanitarian" rules of war. These things conscience should press for, while at the same time it uses the deeds of war to persuade men of the total incompatibility of the whole war method with the Christian religion and ethic.

The only right alternative to the mass murders that go with the blockade, bombing and invasion of a continent is willingness on the part of the United Nations to make an undictated and creative peace on the basis of equality of all peoples. That, in the last analysis, is what we must continue to struggle for, if we would not see civilization perish in the flames.

[33] Address to Parliament, September 21, 1943.

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